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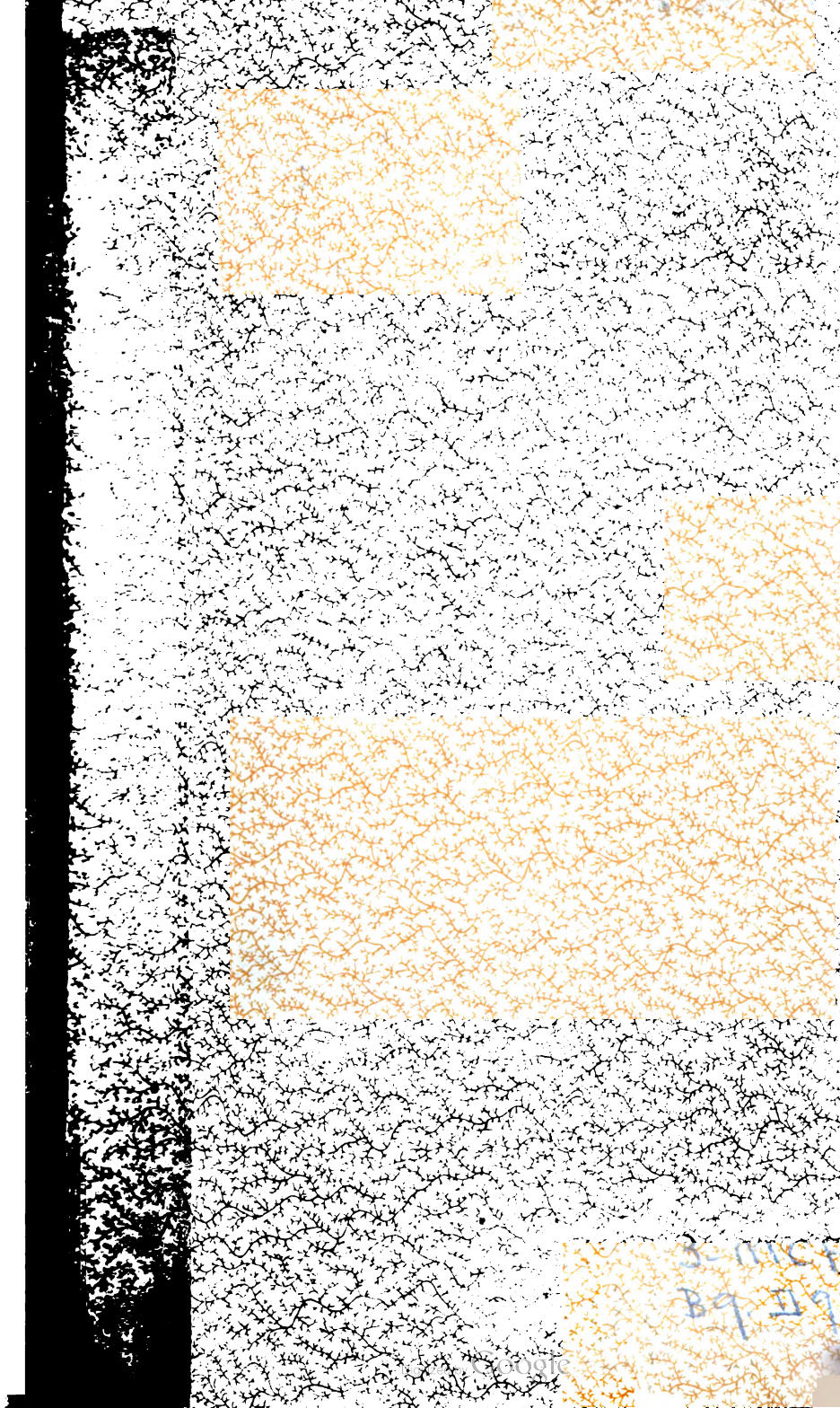
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MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

BORN, MARCH 6. 1474. DIED, FEBRUARY 17. 1563.

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THE LIFE
OF *BMH and m,*
1816
MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

Richard
BY R. DUPPA, LL. B.

to
J. Scott

"I reflect, not without vanity, that these Discourses bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of MICHAEL ANGELO."

Sir Joshua Reynolds's Last Discourse.

THIRD EDITION.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
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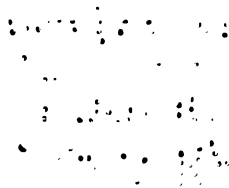
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P R E F A C E.

MANY years before the death of Michael Angelo two biographical tracts of him were published, one by Vasari, the other by Condivi; both equally admirers of his genius, and panegyrists of his fame. Condivi prematurely published his, of which he has given the following account, to apologize for its defects. “ I was collecting and arranging my materials, when some unforeseen circumstances arose, which, for two reasons, obliged me to accelerate, nay even precipitate, my biography. In the first place, because some have been employing themselves in writing about this great man, who have not been so well acquainted with him, I believe, as I am; in consequence of which they have said what is not true, and omitted many things that deserve particularly to be known.

Secondly, some persons to whom I intrusted my plans and information, have availed themselves of my knowledge, as if to appropriate it to their own honour and advantage: therefore, to supply the defects of the former, and to prevent the injury of the latter, I resolved to give this life of Michael Angelo to the public, imperfect as it is; and what remains to be said, I will communicate to the world at a future time with more deliberation." This work is rather an assemblage of crude materials, than a Life, where any discrimination of character is marked, or the parts united, so as to compose a whole. Of the author nothing is known, except what is to be collected from his own Title-page, Dedication, and Preface; and from Vasari's unfavourable commentary on his abilities. The information afforded by himself, is, that he was a native of Ripa Transone, in La Marca, and studied painting under Michael Angelo. Vasari, speaking of him says, "Ascanio of Ripa Transone was very laborious, yet the fruit was never seen, either in designs or works; he toiled many

years on a picture, of which Michael Angelo gave him the Cartoon. In the end, all the favourable expectation that was formed of him, vanished in smoke. I remember Michael Angelo had compassion for his dulness, and assisted him with his own hand; but the improvement he made was little.”¹ From Condivi’s Dedication it would seem he was particularly noticed, and patronized by Julius III.² under the auspices of whose name his book was published July 16, 1553, in small 4°. containing a hundred pages, with this title, “*Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, raccolta per Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone. In Roma appresso Antonio Blado Stampatore Camerale nel M. D. LIII. alli XVI. di Luglio.*” According to Beyero,³ this edition is one of the scarcest books in Europe⁴:

¹ *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 312.

² See this Dedication, p. 180.

³ Beyero’s work is entitled, *Memoriæ Historico-criticæ Librorum rariorum*. 8°. Dresdæ et Leipsiæ apud Fredericum Hekel, 1734.

⁴ A perfect copy of this little book I believe is not any where to be found in England; the only one I am

in the year 1746, Gori republished it in folio, from the only copy to be found in Florence.

The name of Giorgio Vasari is well known; but as his work never appeared in English, a brief account of the author may not be unacceptable, to shew the origin of that compendium of biography, which has contributed so much to the amusement and information of succeeding times.

He was born at Arezzo, in the year 1512, and was taught the rudiments of drawing by his father, and the first principles of painting by Gulielmo Mazzilla, a Frenchman. He was taken to Florence by Cardinal da Cortona, where he improved himself under Michael Angelo, Andrea del Sarto, and other eminent masters.

By the Cardinal he was introduced into the Medici family, where he was noticed by Alessandro and Ippolito. In the year 1527, acquainted with, is in the possession of Samuel Rogers, Esq. and that copy wants four pages.

when they were driven from Florence, he returned to his native city; but an epidemic disease prevailing in Arezzo, he spent his time in the surrounding country, improving himself by painting subjects of devotion for the farmers. His father unfortunately died of the contagion, and left a young family unprovided for. Vasari, to contribute more effectually to their support, quitted the uncertain profession of a painter, and applied himself to learn the more lucrative trade of a goldsmith. In the year 1529, the civil war, which then existed in Florence, obliged the goldsmiths' company to remove to Pisa; and there, receiving commissions to paint some pictures both in oil and in fresco, he was induced to resume his former profession, and afterwards through life met with encouragement, that left him neither motive nor desire to change.

Ottaviano de' Medici was his great friend, and treated him as his own son: from the Dukes of Florence, and other distinguished persons, he also enjoyed the most liberal patronage, and was constantly employed in

works both profitable and honourable to himself.

In the year 1544, by the friendship of Messer Giovio,⁵ he was recommended to make designs and paint a hall for the Cardinal Farnese, in Rome. While he was executing this work, he attended the Cardinal's evening parties, which were frequented by literary persons and men of genius. At one of these parties M. Giovio, speaking of his own museum arranged and embellished with inscriptions and portraits of illustrious men, said, "That it had always been his desire to add to it, and make his book of eulogiums more complete, by a treatise on the celebrated artists, from Cimabue down to his own time;" and enlarged upon the subject with much general information. The Cardinal then turned to Vasari, and asked him, "If he did not think that subject would make a fine work?" Vasari concurred with his Eminence, but

⁵ Messer Giovio was the historian, and Bishop of Nocera, better known to us by his Latin name Paulus Jovius.

added, "That it would require the assistance of an artist to collate the materials and arrange them in their proper order; for, although M. Giovio displayed great knowledge in his observations, yet he had not been equally accurate in the arrangement of his facts." "You can then," replied the Cardinal, "give him assistance, which will be doing an essential service to the arts."

To shew proper deference to so flattering an opinion, he applied himself to collect such materials as he thought necessary to the plan then suggested; and the information he contributed was drawn up so much to Messer Giovio's satisfaction, that he recommended him to enlarge upon it, and make a more complete work, alledging his own want of leisure and capacity to do justice to such an undertaking. Vasari, with reluctance, consented; and with his own industry, and some assistance from others,⁶

⁶ In the literary part of his work he was assisted by one Don Bartolommeo Miniato Pitti, a monk of Monte Oliveto near Florence. In the second edition he received

he fulfilled his task; and in the year 1550, published his work in two volumes small quarto.⁷ The account of Michael Angelo occupies forty-five pages at the end of the second volume, and as he is the only living artist included in this edition, Vasari has given this reason for introducing his name. "Let no one be surprised that I have here written the life of Michael Angelo, who is yet living: since it is not to be expected that he can ever die, it has appeared to me, proper to confer upon him this little honour; for when, in common with other men, his life shall pass away, he will live in his immortal works; the fame of which, as long as the world lasts, will live with glory in the mouths of men, and in their writings, in contempt of Envy, and despite of Death."⁸

assistance from Don Silvano Razzi, a monk of the order Camaldolese.

⁷ This work is entitled, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri: descritte in lingua toscana, da Giorgio Vasari pittore Aretino. Con una sua utile et necessaria introduzzione a le arti loro. In Firenze MDL.*

⁸ *Vasari*, Edit. 1550, Part. iii. p. 991.

In 1567 he reprinted his work in three volumes quarto, with portraits of the painters cut in wood, and with the addition of his own life, to the fifty-fifth year of his age.*

He died in 1574, and in the year 1588 his nephew published a book to commemorate and honour his uncle's abilities.' It is not, however, to Painting that Vasari is indebted for his present fame, but to his miscellaneous biography; which, though crude and incorrect, affords the most ample fund

* The Edition I have quoted, and referred to, in the present work, is that by Giovanni Bottari, printed in Rome 1760, except where it has been necessary to recur to the original edition of 1550.

* This work is entitled, " Ragionamenti del Sig. Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari, Pittore et Architetto, Aretino, sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze nel palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime, con lo Illustriss. et Excellentiss. Signor Don Francesco Medici allora Principe di Firenze, insieme con la invenzione della pittura da lui cominciata nella cupola, con due tavole, una delle cose più notabili, et l' altra delli huomini illustri, che sono ritratti e nominati in quest' opera. In Firenze, appresso Filippo Giunti. M.D.LXXXVIII."

for our information concerning the painters of Italy before his time, or contemporary with himself. As an artist his works have not conferred any celebrity on his name.

In using the materials supplied by these biographers, I have exercised my own judgment with respect to Michael Angelo's works. From the same data, opinions may be still formed not less authentic, and perhaps with more impartiality, than by contemporary men; but I have not omitted any facts or anecdotes worthy of credit. Besides these authors, I have examined all the writers of that age who could be supposed to throw any light upon my subject, by which means I have corrected some mistakes in Vasari and Condiyi, and added to their stock of information. I have also subjoined by way of Appendix some account of all the compositions mentioned by those authors, of which there are any prints or pictures extant.

The references, by the title of ILLUSTRATIONS which are made throughout this

volume, are to an imperial quarto consisting of a series of 59 etched outlines made from Michael Angelo's works in SCULPTURE, PAINTING, DESIGN, and ARCHITECTURE, which was thought to be more convenient, than to refer to scarce prints and drawings in private collections. These outlines are entitled, ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE LIFE OF MICHAEL ANGELO, and may be purchased separately of the publisher of this work, if the reader should stand in need of them.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Portrait of Michael Angelo to face the title page.

The Fac-simile of Michael Angelo's letter to face page 259.

The MS. Poetry to face page 320.

The Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the Last Judgment, the Cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, and the Monument of Pope Julius II., to be folded and put at the end of the book.

THE LIFE

OF

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

IN Italy the arts had been progressive from the time of their revival by Cimabue and Giotto, but arrived at their highest distinction in the age of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. This celebrated painter, sculptor, and architect, descended from the noble and illustrious family of the Counts of Canossa, and was born in the castle of Caprese in Tuscany, on the 6th of March, 1474.¹ At the time of his birth, his father, Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti Simoni, was Podestà,

¹ The Florentines at this period commenced their æra, not from the nativity of Christ, but from the 25th of March, being the Annunciation.

or Governor, of Caprese and Chiusi.² At this period the science of astronomy was made subservient to judicial astrology; and the prediction of events by the position and supposed influence of the heavenly bodies, was a superstition pervading all ranks of people. Attention to the imaginary phenomena of this occult science was not neglected at the birth of Michael Angelo, whose future celebrity, according to his biographers, was thus favourably augured. ‘Mercury and Venus were in conjunction with Jupiter for the second time, demonstrating a benign aspect, plainly shewing that the child would be a very extraordinary genius, whose success would be universal; but particularly in those arts which delight the sense; as painting, sculpture, and architecture.’³

² Chiusi was a fortress of some importance in the commonwealth of Florence. In the infancy of the Roman republic it was the ancient Clusium, and the capital of Etruria in the time of Porsenna; by opposition to whom, Horatius Cocles and Mutius Scævola immortalized their names.

³ *Condivi*, §. iv.

When the time of his father's official situation expired, he returned to Florence, and sent his infant son to be nursed at his villa called Settignano,* intrusted to the care of a woman who was the wife of a stone-mason, and who was also the daughter of a person of the same employment; hence Michael Angelo sometimes facetiously remarked, that it was no wonder he was delighted with a chisel, since it was given to him with his nurse's milk.

When Michael Angelo was of a proper age, Lodovico, perceiving that he had abilities, was desirous that he should be educated for some learned profession, and sent him to one Francesco d'Urbino, who at that time kept a grammar school in Florence, to receive the rudiments of his education. But although he is said to have made some progress, yet, agreeably to the superstitious astrology of his time, heaven and nature interposed, and instead of his becoming

* This villa was three miles distant from Florence, and among the first acquisitions that M. Simoni da Canossa purchased when he came into Tuscany; and it belonged to the family at the time when Condivi wrote.

attached to books, his mind was fascinated by painting. Drawing was his amusement and his study, and whenever he could steal any time, it was devoted to that pursuit. He sought acquaintance with the students in painting, and among others became intimate with one Francesco Granacci,⁵ a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaïo, who, seeing his fondness for drawing, encouraged and assisted him; he lent him designs to copy, and took him to his master's house, and other places where any work of art could afford him instruction. The advantages of this attention, joined to his natural disposition, so influenced his feelings, that he entirely neglected his studies at school.

The first attempt Michael Angelo made

⁵ Francesco Granacci was born in the year 1477, and died, according to Baldinucci, on the second of December, 1544. As I have never seen any of his works, I am ignorant of his merit; he does not appear to have painted much; he was independent in his circumstances, and considered his profession rather as an amusement than a lucrative employment. Vasari says, he was a man of agreeable manners and conversation, and enjoyed the pleasures of society.

in painting was with the assistance of Granacci: he lent him colours and pencils, and a print⁶ representing the story of St. Anthony beaten by devils, which he copied on a pannel with such success that it was much admired. In this little picture, besides the figure of the Saint, there were many strange forms and monsters, which he was so intent to represent in the best manner, that he coloured no part without referring to some natural object. He went to the fish-market to observe the form and colour of the fins and eyes of fish; and whatever in nature constituted a part of his composition, he studied from its source. About this time he made a fac-simile of a picture, which is recorded, to shew his skill in imitation. A head had been given him to copy; and he imitated it so well, that he took his own copy, instead of the original picture, to the person from whom it was borrowed, and the difference was not immediately per-

⁶ Vasari says, this print was engraved by *Martino Tedesco*, but who this German artist was, is still to be conjectured; Mariette is of opinion that his name was *Martin Schoën*.

ceived. To add to the deception, he smoaked his copy so as to make it appear of the same age as the original.⁷

His father and his uncles, perceiving the bias his mind had taken, often treated him harshly, conceiving that the arts would degrade the dignity of the family, if followed as a profession. His inclination was paramount to their objections, and, although the displeasure it produced was a source of great uneasiness, yet he was so delighted in the pursuit that he irresistibly continued it. He copied the studies Granacci lent to him from his master's portfolio, with such success, that his partiality for that mode of spending his time daily increased, and his father at length perceiving it was hopeless to give his mind any other direction, resolved, by the advice of his friends, to place him under Domenico Ghirlandaïo, who had then a numerous school of pupils, and was himself not only the most eminent painter in Florence, but one of the most celebrated in Italy.⁸

⁷ *Condivi*, §. vi.

⁸ Domenico Ghirlandaïo was so called from his orna-

From an original document preserved by Vasari, it appears that he was articulated on the first of April, 1488, to Domenico Ghirlandaio and his brother David, for three years, who were to teach him the art and practice of painting; and to allow him twenty-four florins for that time; six florins for the first, eight for the second, and ten for the third year.* This engagement is an

menting his children's heads with garlands, and from being the first painter who adopted that practice. His real name was Domenico di Tommaso di Currado di Gordi. He was born in Florence in 1451, and died of a fever in 1495. He had very considerable abilities, and a high reputation, and was employed in all the public works of his time. Sixtus IV. sent for him to Rome to unite his talents with Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, and others, to decorate the chapel built by that pontiff in the Vatican, called the Cappella Sistina. He was the first artist who rejected the false taste of introducing gold and silver ornaments into pictures, and shewed that they might be imitated in oil colours with a much more harmonious effect.

* '1488 ricordo questo di primo d'Aprile, come io Lodovico di Lionardo di Buonarroti acconciò Michel Angelo mio figliuolo con Domenico e David di Tomaso di Currado per anni tre prossimi avvenire con questi patti, e modi, che il detto Michel Angelo debba stare con i sopradetti detto tempo a imparare a dipignere e a fare detto

honourable attestation of his abilities ; for those talents must have been unequivocal, when an artist, at the head of his profession, instead of receiving a premium to instruct him, was induced to make him some compensation for his services.

From this situation Michael Angelo might be supposed to derive great advantage, but Ghirlandaïo is said to have been envious of his rising merit ; hence Condivi has asserted, that he reaped no benefit from his instructor.*

essercizio, e ciò i sopradetti gli commanderanno ; a detti Domenico e David gli debbon dare in questi tre anni fiorini venti quattro di suggello ; e il primo anno fiorini sei, il secondo anno fiorini otto, il terzo fiorini dieci ; in tutta la somma di lire 96, e appresso vi è sotto questo ricordo, o questa partita, scritta pur di mano di Lodovico : ‘ Hanne avuto il sopradetto Michel Angelo questo dì 16 d’Aprile fiorini due d’oro in oro, ebbi io Lodovico di Lionardo suo padre da lui contanti lire 12.12.’ *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 189.

* “When praise was bestowed on any juvenile work of Michael Angelo, to diminish his credit, Ghirlandaïo used to say that it came out of his study, meaning to insinuate that he himself had some hand in it. One day, when Michael Angelo requested the loan of his book of portraits, in which were painted shepherds with their dogs, views,

Whatever were the sources of his improvement, he rapidly surpassed his contemporary students, and adopted a style of drawing and design more bold and daring than Ghirlandaïo had been accustomed to see practised in his school ; and, from an anecdote in Vasari, it would seem that Michael Angelo soon felt himself superior to his master. One of the pupils copying a female portrait from a drawing by Ghirlandaïo, he took a pen and made a strong outline round it on the same paper, to shew him its defects ; and the superior style of the contour was much admired, although the act was thought confident and pre-

buildings, ruins, and similar studies, he refused to let him have it. And in truth he had the name of being envious ; for it was not to Michael Angelo alone he was little courteous, but even toward his own brother, whom, when he saw him likely to eclipse his reputation, he sent into France, not to serve him, as some were disposed to say, but to get rid of a rival. This little digression I have been the more induced to make, as I am told that the son of Ghirlandaïo attributed the excellence of Michael Angelo to his father's instruction, although in fact he never gave him the least assistance. Michael Angelo, notwithstanding, did not complain, and was even accustomed to speak well of his abilities and behaviour." *Condivi*, §. v.

sumptuous.^a His great facility in copying with accuracy whatever objects were before him, was exemplified in an instance which produced a compliment from his master. Ghirlandaïo being employed in S. Maria Novella, in Florence, Michael Angelo took advantage of his absence, and drew the scaffolding, the desks, the painting utensils and apparatus, and some of the young men who were at work, with so much correctness and skill, that when he returned, he was quite astonished, and said, it was rather the performance of an experienced artist, than of a scholar.

At this period Lorenzo de' Medici desired to establish a school for the advancement of sculpture, regretting its mediocrity in comparison with the state of painting. He therefore made a garden in Florence

^a This drawing Vasari had in his possession in the year 1550, and being in Rome at that time, he shewed it to Michael Angelo, who recollected it with pleasure, and modestly remarked, ' I knew more of this part of my art ' when I was a young man, than I do now in my old age.'^a *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 190.

near to the Piazza of St. Mark, which he amply supplied with antique statues, basso-relievos, busts, &c. and appointed one Bertoldo, who had been a pupil of Donatello,* superintendant, or keeper. When this arrangement was made, Lorenzo requested Ghirlandaïo to permit any of his scholars to study there, who were desirous of drawing from the antique. Of this indulgence Granacci and his young friend availed themselves, and from that time the

* ‘ Lorenzo aveva fatto fare il Giardino, ch’ è ora in sù la piazza di San Marco, solamente perchè lo teneva pieno di figure antiche di marmo, e pitture assai, e tutte eccellenti, solo per condurre una scuola di giovani, i quali alla scultura, pittura, e architettura attendessino a imparare, sotto la custodia di Bertoldo scultore, già discepolo di Donatello, i quali giovani, tutti, o la maggior parte, furono eccellenti; fra quali, fu uno il nostro Michelagnolo Buonarroti, che è stato lo splendore, la vita, e la grandezza della scultura, pittura, e architettura.’
Vasari Ragionamenti, p. 74,

‘ Dolendosi, adunque, Lorenzo, che ancor grandissimo portava alla pittura, e alla scultura, che ne’ suoi tempi non si trovassero scultori celebrati, e nobili, come si trovavano molti pittori di grandissimo pregio, e fama, deliberò di fare una scuola; e per questo chiese a Domenico Ghirlandaïo, che se in bottega sua avesse de’ suoi giovani,

Medici Garden became the favourite school of Michael Angelo.

No sooner had he entered upon his studies here, than seeing a student modelling some figures in clay, he felt an emulation to do the same, and Lorenzo, who frequently visited the Gardens, observing his progress, encouraged him with expressions of approbation. Not long afterwards, he was desirous to try his skill in marble, and being particularly interested with a mutilated old head, or rather a mask representing a laughing Faun, he chose it for his original. At that time many persons were employed in the Garden, making ornaments for a library which Lorenzo was decorating: from one of these workmen he begged a piece of marble sufficiently large for his purpose, and was accommodated by him with chisels and whatever else was neces-

che inclinati fossero a ciò, gli inviasse al giardino, dove egli desiderava di essercitarli e creargli in una maniera, che onorasse sè, e lui, e la città sua. Laonde da Domenico gli furono per ottimi giovani dati fra gli altri Michelagnolo, e Francesco Granacci.' *Vasari Vita di Michel Angelo*, tom. iii. p. 192.

sary to execute his undertaking. Although this was his first essay in sculpture, he in a few days brought his task to a conclusion; from his own invention he supplied what was imperfect in the original, and made some other additions. Lorenzo visiting the Garden as usual, found Michael Angelo polishing his mask, and thought it an extraordinary work for so young an artist; nevertheless he jestingly remarked, ‘ You have restored to the old Faun all his teeth, but don’t you know that in a man of such an age some are generally wanting?’ Upon this observation Michael Angelo was impatient for Lorenzo’s absence, that when alone, he might avail himself of his criticism; and immediately on his retiring, he broke a tooth from the upper jaw, and drilled a hole in the gum to give the appearance of its having fallen out.

When Lorenzo made his next visit, he immediately saw the alteration, and was delighted with the aptness and simplicity of his scholar; he laughed exceedingly, and related the incident to his friends as an

instance of docility and quickness of parts.³ From this circumstance he resolved to take him under his own immediate patronage, and desired Michael Angelo to tell his father he wished to have some conversation with him.

He went home and delivered the message: his father immediately guessed why he was sent for, and it was with the greatest difficulty he could be prevailed upon to go. He lamented that Granacci had led his son astray to follow a profession that was dishonourable to the family, and declared he would never give his consent that he should be a stone-mason. Granacci endeavoured to explain to him the difference between that mechanical occupation and the profession of a sculptor; but the old man was little disposed to hear his reasoning, and less to be convinced; he however felt it his duty to wait upon Lorenzo the Magnificent.

³ This mask was preserved in the Florence Gallery when I visited that city in the year 1798. It has been ill designed and engraved in Gori's edition of *Condivi*.

Lorenzo received him with his accustomed courtesy, and, after some previous conversation, asked him if he would resign his son to his care, and permit him to be adopted into his family; Lodovico consented with deference, and a due sense of the obligation. Lorenzo then offered his services to Lodovico himself, desiring to assist him, and enquired his profession; to which he replied, 'I have never followed any, but have always lived upon my slender income, taking care of some little possessions left to me by my ancestors, and have used my diligence not only to preserve, but to improve them.' 'Well,' replied Lorenzo, 'look round in Florence, and if any thing occurs favourable to your wishes, you may command me to the extent of my power.'⁴

* Some time after there happened a vacancy in the custom-house, and Lodovico applied for it; upon which Lorenzo said, smiling, and at the same time clapping him on his shoulder, 'You are destined to be a poor man; I thought you would have asked for something better worth your acceptance; but if you are willing to receive this, until something better presents itself, it is at your service.' The office produced about eight crowns per month. *Condivi*, §. ix.

Michael Angelo was provided with a room, and every accommodation that could be desired, in the house, or rather the palace of Lorenzo. He sate at his table as his own son, and was introduced to men of rank and genius, where such men were every day received and welcomed. His leisure hours were passed in examining and contemplating, with Lorenzo himself, his extensive cabinet of gems and medals: his more serious studies were pursued with diligence and ardour, and every day produced something to delight his patron. Among other places for improvement, he studied many months from the fresco paintings of Masaccio, in the church of the Carmelites; it was here, according to Benvenuto Cellini, that he had an affray with Torrigiano, which will be mentioned hereafter.

In the year 1675, this church was destroyed by fire, and Masaccio's paintings suffered in the conflagration; but the Brancacci chapel, his last and most important work, was saved, and still serves

to bear testimony to his genius. In Rome this artist painted a chapel in the church of St. Clement, and another in S. Maria Maggiore, where the figures were so true to nature, and the chiar'-oscuro rendered with so much force, that Michael Angelo, at an advanced period of his life, entertained a very high sense of their merit; and once said to Vasari, in commendation of them, that they must have been alive when originally painted.' It was from the pictures in the Brancacci chapel that Raffaello copied his St. Paul preaching at Athens, and his Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise, in the Loggia of the Vatican. Concerning this painter Sir Joshua Reynolds observes, 'that he was the first who saw nature through the medium of sentiment and feeling, and adopted a breadth of manner not known to his predecessors: and though his compositions are formal, and not enough diversified, yet his works possess that grandeur and simplicity, which accompany, and

‘Considerando quest'opera un giorno, Michelagnolo ed io; egli la lodò molto, e poi soggiunse; coloro essere stati vivi ne' tempi di Masaccio.’ *Vasari vita di Masaccio.*

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even sometimes proceed from, regularity and hardness of style. He introduced large drapery flowing easily and naturally about his figures; and he appears to be the first who discovered the path that leads to every excellence to which the art afterwards arrived, and may therefore be justly considered as one of the great fathers of modern art. He is a signal instance of what well-directed diligence will do in a short time; his life did not exceed 27 years, yet in that short space he carried the art far beyond what it had before reached, and appears to stand alone as a model for his successors.’⁶

Whilst Michael Angelo was laying the sure foundation of his future fame, and giving daily proofs of his rapid improvement, he formed an intimacy with Poliziano, who resided under the same roof with him,

⁶ Vasari says, that Masaccio died in the year 1443, at only 26 years of age. He also gives a long catalogue of painters and sculptors, who formed their taste and learned their art by studying his works; among whom, he names Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo, Raffaello, Andrea del Sarto, Il Rosso, and Pierino del Vaga.

and who soon became warmly attached to his interests.' At his recommendation he executed a basso-relievo in marble, representing the battle of Hercules with the Centaurs. This work ornaments the dwelling of his descendants ; and, although not completely finished, displays great ability. But its highest commendation is, that it stood approved, in the riper judgment of Michael Angelo himself ; who, although not indulgent to his own productions, did not hesitate, on seeing it, even in the decline of life, to express his regret that he had

⁷ Among all the literary friends of Lorenzo, Angelo Poliziano was the most particularly distinguished : he was born in the year 1454, and indebted for his education to Piero, or rather to Lorenzo de' Medici, whom he always considered as his peculiar patron, and to whom he felt himself bound by every tie of gratitude. He was intrusted by Lorenzo with the education of his children, and the care of his extensive collection of manuscripts and antiquities ; he constantly resided under his roof, and was his inseparable companion at those hours which were not devoted to the more important concerns of the state. He had the reputation of being the best Greek scholar of his time ; and in restoring the original purity of the ancient authors he was indefatigable. He died at forty years of age, Sept. 24, 1494.

not entirely devoted himself to sculpture. The figures in this basso-relievo, according to Bottari, are about nine inches high.

The death of Lorenzo, which happened on the 8th of April 1492, deprived Michael Angelo of his patron and protector, and, with the greatest affliction for his loss, he returned to his father's house. The first work which afterwards occupied his attention was a statue of Hercules, four braccia^{*} high, which for many years was in the Strozzi palace, in Florence, and in the year 1530 was sent into France by Giovanni Batista della Palla, and presented to Francis I.[†]

Piero, the successor of Lorenzo, inherited his father's possessions, and as much of his rank as could be sustained by a worthless son. Although he was not entirely without

* A braccia is a Florentine measure of about 23 English inches.

† In the middle of the last century Mariette made diligent search for this statue in France, but was unable to obtain any information concerning it.

attainments or capacity, yet his taste was corrupt and vitiated, and his manners overbearing and supercilious; timid when opposed to difficulties, and weak in decision; and his wealth and his power only served him to indulge in degrading follies. He considered the arts without any reference to genius or to intellect, and encouraged them only, during his short reign, to administer to his idle pleasures. Under his patronage Michael Angelo was called upon to make a statue of Snow, to ornament the *cortile* of the Medici palace. The same apartments were given to him which he occupied in the time of Lorenzo; he dined at the same table, and was considered with as much esteem as his new patron had feeling to bestow: the measure of which may be tolerably well estimated from his exulting, ‘that he had two extraordinary persons in his house: the one, Michael Angelo; the other, a Spanish running footman, who, besides being remarkable for personal beauty, was so rapid on foot, and long breathed, that on horseback, riding full speed, he could not get before him.’¹

¹ *Condivi vita di Michel Angelo*, § ix, xii.

Michael Angelo still pursued his studies, and among other occupations executed a crucifix in wood, rather less than the size of nature, for the monastery of St. Spirito. The Prior valued his abilities and cultivated his friendship; and to promote his knowledge in his profession, recommended him to the study of anatomy, and accommodated him with a room and subjects for dissection, of which he availed himself to acquire the first principles of that branch of science.

The distracted state of Italy at this time, joined to the haughty and pusillanimous conduct of Piero de' Medici, divided the councils of Florence and disturbed its tranquillity; the impending storm awakened serious apprehensions in the mind of Michael Angelo, and he retired to Bologna to avoid its evils.

In eventful times calamities have seldom wanted a prediction; and to the credulous, dreams and omens have foretold their near approach. Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion, has not thought it beneath his notice to record a ghost-story of Sir

George Villiers ; it may, therefore, not be without its interest to compare a similar one, which more than a century before his time is said to have predicted the overthrow of Piero de' Medici.

‘ In the house of Piero was a man of the name of Cardiere, an improvisatore of great ability, who, in the time of Lorenzo, sung to the lyre in the evenings while he was at supper. Being a friend of Michael Angelo, he told him of a vision that disturbed his mind ; Lorenzo de' Medici, he said, had appeared to him in a dream, with his body wrapped in a black tattered robe, and ordered him to tell his son, that shortly he would be driven from his house to return no more. Michael Angelo exhorted Cardiere to obey the command ; but from his knowledge of Piero's disposition, he was afraid, and kept it to himself. Another morning Michael Angelo being in the *cor-tile* of the palace observed Cardiere terrified and sorrowful : he then told him, that Lorenzo had again appeared to him habited as before, and he was suddenly awoke by a

slap in the face, the apparition demanding the reason why he had not told Piero what he had before seen. Michael then reproved him for not having made the communication, upon which he took courage, and, with that view, set out on foot for Careggi, a villa belonging to the Medici family, about three miles from Florence; but before he was quite half way, he met Piero returning. He stopped him, and related what he had seen and heard. Piero laughed, and on telling his attendants Cardiere's story, they made a thousand jokes at his expense; and his chancellor, who was afterward Cardinal di Bibiena, said to him, *You are out of your mind. Whom do you think Lorenzo wills best, his son or you? If his son, would he not rather have appeared to him, than to any other person, if it had been necessary to appear at all?* Cardiere, having thus discharged, what he considered as his duty, returned home, and was so impressed with the consequences, that Michael Angelo became persuaded the prediction would take place, and in a few days, with two companions, he left Florence and went to

Bologna. To whatever cause this prediction may be attributed, it so happened that it was verified; for the family de' Medici, with all the suite, were driven from Florence, and arrived at Bolognā while Michael Angelo was there, and lodged in the house de' Rossi; and Piero himself never returned to Florence, but, after suffering a succession of mortifications, came to an untimely death.*

Michael Angelo and his two companions had no sooner arrived in Bologna than they were taken into custody for the want of a proper passport. In the time of Ben-tivoglio a law was made to oblige every foreigner who entered Bologna to have his

* *Condivi*, §. xiv. Piero de' Medici was born in 1471, and succeeded on the 8th of April 1492, upon his father's death, to his situation in the Republic. He was expelled from Florence November 1494, and, after an unhappy exile of nine years, was drowned in crossing the mouth of the river Garigliano in a boat, December 1503, in his way to Gaita, after an unsuccessful battle, in the event of which he was materially interested. *Guiccardini*, lib. vi.

thumb-nail sealed with red wax; this regulation not having been complied with, they were conducted to the seal-office, and sentenced to pay fifty Bolognese *lire*; and being unable to discharge the fine, they were detained. Michael Angelo had hitherto paid for his companions, but as it was now necessary for him to consider the state of his finances, he began to repent of his expedition. M. Gianfrancesco Aldovrandi, a Bolognese gentleman, one of the sixteen, constituting the government, being made acquainted with their embarrassment, set them at liberty; and as Michael Angelo was a man of genius, and known to him by reputation, he invited him to his own house, which invitation was at first modestly declined, as he had two companions whom he could not leave with propriety. To this Aldovrandi humorously replied, 'Then I think I will go with you myself to see the world, as you take such good care of your friends.' He, however, at length persuaded him to accept his invitation, and Michael Angelo made a satisfactory apology to his

associates, and gave them the money he had in his pocket, to enable them to pursue their route to Venice.

During his stay at Bologna he received the most flattering marks of attention from his hospitable friend, and executed two statues for him in marble for the church of St. Domenico : a St. Petronio, and an Angel kneeling holding a candelabrum; each three palms¹ high, for which he received thirty ducats. During his stay in Bologna, his evenings were spent in reading Dantè, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, to his friend; to whom those authors were particularly interesting. After remaining with him somewhat more than a year, the affairs of Florence being tranquillized, he returned home.

Michael Angelo being again settled in his father's house, he pursued his profession, and made a statue of an infant St. John sleeping, for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, which advanced his reputation;

¹ A palm is a Roman measure equal to 8,779 English inches.

and afterwards a sleeping Cupid, as a companion subject. At this period the discoveries of antiquity which made a new æra in the arts, were found sometimes to excite too great an enthusiasm for those remains, and it was suggested by this gentleman when he saw the Cupid, that, could it be supposed to be antique sculpture, it could not fail to be equally admired; and if he would stain the marble to give it the appearance of having been concealed for past ages, he would send it to Rome, and try the experiment. To this proposition Michael Angelo consented, and the statue was consigned to a person to carry on the deception. The man buried it in a vineyard, and afterwards pretending to have discovered it there, so completely succeeded in his purpose, that it was universally admired, and bought as antique by the Cardinal S. Giorgio, for two hundred ducats: of which sum, however, Michael Angelo only received thirty, the value originally set upon it

The Cardinal had not been long in possession of his new purchase, before he was

given to understand, that he was deceived ; and that instead of its being a specimen of fine antique sculpture, it was the work of a modern artist in Florence ; upon this information he felt indignant at the imposition, and immediately sent a person of his household to Florence, on purpose to learn the truth, when Michael Angelo was discovered to be the sculptor. Upon which he bestowed great commendation on his merit, and recommended him to visit Rome, as the proper theatre for the exercise of his great talents ; and, as an additional inducement, he promised to introduce him into the Cardinal's service. Michael Angelo, with some hesitation, agreed to return with him ; but these expectations proved to be fallacious, and he was not benefited, nor did the Cardinal reward him either with patronage or encouragement.*

Although, during his stay in Rome, he

* The statue of the Cupid, afterwards came into the possession of the Duke Valentino, who presented it to the Marchioness of Mantua, and by her it was deposited in the family palace in that city : but where either the statue of St. John or this Cupid is at present, is not known.

received no commission from the Cardinal S. Giorgio, yet his abilities were too much esteemed not to meet with encouragement from others : he was employed by a Roman gentleman of good taste, of the name of Jacopo Galli ; for whom he made a statue of a Cupid,⁶ and another of a Bacchus.⁶ For Cardinal Rovano he also executed in marble a group of the Virgin, with a dead Christ in her lap, in Italy called *La Pietà* ; and this composition was so admired, that it gave him a decided rank of precedence amongst his contemporaries.

It is executed with the greatest care, and is now an altar-piece in a chapel in St. Peter's, dedicated to *La Vergine Maria detta Febbre*.⁷ It was so much esteemed that several copies were made : one in marble, of the same size, by Nanni di Baccio Bigio, for an altar in the church dell' Anima, in Rome ; and another by Giovanni di Cecco

⁵ This statue is lost, but the Bacchus is now in the gallery in Florence.

⁶ ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. I.

⁷ ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. II.

Bigio, for the church of St. Spirito, in Florence. Michael Angelo also cast it twice in bronze : once for the Strozzi family, to be placed in the church of St. Andrea della Valle, in Rome ; and again for some Flemish merchants, to be sent to Flanders.* On a fillet which serves to connect the drapery with the figure, he cut his name ; which was not originally intended, but arose from the following circumstance. One day as he entered the church he observed a group of persons admiring the *Pietà*, and being foreigners they asked who was the sculptor, and one Cristoforo Solari, commonly called *Il Gobbo*, immediately answered, ‘ One of our countrymen, a Milanese.’ Michael Angelo stood by and remained silent, but, to prevent the recurrence of any similar mistake, at night, he shut himself up in the church, and by candle-light cut his name, that neither ignorance nor envy in future, might rob him of his reputation. Besides these works, he made a small cartoon of St. Francis receiving

* For this cast Michael Angelo received an hundred ducats.

the *stigmata*, painted in distemper for St. Pietro in Montorio.'

The Republic of Florence, from the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, felt the instability of its government; and aware of the danger of contending factions, determined to make

Michael Angelo made this cartoon to oblige a person in the service of Cardinal S. Giorgio, who was himself not capable of making an original design, but who had sufficient practice to paint from the designs of others. Vasari has not mentioned his name, but describes him in these words:—'In quel tempo un barbiere del Cardinale stato pittore, che coloriva a tempera molto diligentemente, ma non aveva disegno; fattosi amico Michel Angelo, gli fece un cartone d'un S. Francesco, che riceve le *stimate*, che fu condotto con i colori dal Barbier in una tavoletta molto diligentemente, la qual pittura è oggi locata in una prima cappella entrando in chiesa a man manca di S. Piero a Montorio.' Tom. iii. p. 199. In the first edition of Vasari, printed 1550, he says, Michael Angelo painted the picture. 'Depinse nella maniera antica una tavola a tempera d'un S. Francesco con le *Stimate*, che è locata a man sinistra nella prima cappella di San Piero a Montorio in Roma.' Part iii. p. 952. This was probably a mistake, and corrected in the 2d edition, from better information.

Of this subject I have seen a scarce print in Lord Foley's library, at Whitley Court, with the date 1574, and the monogram of Cherubino Alberti Borghegiano, **Æ**.

a perpetual Gonfaloniere,' as the best means of securing the liberty of the State; and

* As the official terms of a foreign country may not be familiar to an English reader, a more correct knowledge of the quality of Gonfaloniere (literally, standard-bearer) may perhaps be best understood from a slight sketch of the government of which it made a part.

Florence, after having been destroyed by the Ostrogoths, was restored by Charlemagne, and remained long subject to his descendants and successors. Under the Guelphs and Ghibelines it suffered by the violence of contending parties, but the union of rival factions laid the foundation of its liberty. Twelve citizens, with the title of *Anziani*, or Ancients, were elected to preside over the government, whose office was annual; and two foreigners were appointed judges for the criminal and civil departments, one of whom had the title of '*Capitano di Popolo*,' and the other, that of '*Podestà*.' Other judicious regulations were framed, by which Florence arrived at a high degree of power and credit. This constitution, however, was but of short duration. Manfredi, king of Naples, attacked the Florentines, conquered them, and in the public ruin every vestige of freedom disappeared. After Manfredi's death liberty revived, and the people again elected twelve magistrates, who went out of office every two months; but the Pope, by his vicars and legates, swayed their councils and influenced their decrees.

Such was the state of Florence till the year 1282, when the constitution underwent another change, and from among the magistrates were elected three persons, invested with superior powers, denominated '*Priori*,' who

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Pietro Soderini, a man of the greatest prudence and moderation, was chosen to fill that office. Upon this event the friends of Michael Angelo advised him to leave Rome, knowing the disposition of Soderini to encourage genius, and the high opinion he entertained of his abilities.

also went out of office every two months. The number of these Priori was afterwards increased to eight, and, upon some extraordinary occasions, to twelve. A palace was built for their reception, officers and guards appointed to distinguish and protect them, and they had the title of ‘*Signori*,’ or Lords.

In States where the lowest ranks of the community are intrusted with the civil offices, the nobles are apt to believe themselves above the laws ; and the Florentine nobility were guilty of great excesses with impunity. To correct these abuses, an ordinance passed, declaring that every ‘*Signor*,’ on his entrance into office, should create a Gonfaloniere, who should enrol twenty companies of armed men, to preserve the public peace, and enforce a proper and impartial distribution of justice. This new employment soon became the most important in the State, and the Gonfaloniere was honoured with precedence over the rest of the magistrates. *Opere di Machiavelli*, lib. 2. This is the origin of that office, which, although in its institution was only for two months, was afterwards found expedient to be made perpetual in the person of Soderini.

As soon as Michael Angelo came to Florence he asked the Gonfaloniere permission to make a statue out of a neglected piece of marble, which had been already embossed^a for a gigantic figure, but from the unskilful manner in which it had been treated, was thought to be entirely spoiled for any purpose of sculpture. From this misshapen block he composed a statue, which he accommodated to the irregular shape of the marble, and in eighteen months produced a colossal figure of a David, which was placed in the Piazza, in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it now stands.¹

Vasari tells an affected criticism of Soderini, when the statue was removed into

^a Embossed, in this sense, means the rude transformation of the block, into a statue; by workmen, the term *bosted-out*, is technically used, but there is no correctly authorized word in English, to denote this preparatory state of sculpture: it corresponds to what is familiarly understood by a *dead-colour* in painting. The original of this term was probably the Italian word *Abbozzo*.

¹ The statue was set up in the Piazza del Gran Duca, in the month of September, 1504. *L'Ammirato Ist. Fiorent.*

this situation, which must remind every English reader of the story Pope has recorded of Lord Halifax, when he read to him the first books of his Iliad. 'The Gonfaloniere on seeing the statue admired it exceedingly, but pretended to discover, that the nose was a little too large, which Michael Angelo explained, by attributing the appearance to the fore-shortening produced by the situation from which he saw it. His scientific reasoning, however, was not satisfactory; therefore, in an instant, he mounted the scaffold, taking a chisel in one hand and a little marble dust in the other, and while he pretended to be reducing the surface, he let fall a little dust as he appeared to be working. Soderini was flattered with this deference to his judgment, and soon exclaimed, '*Now I am better pleased; you have given it life.*' Whether this story be true, or only meant to depreciate the taste and judgment of the Gonfaloniere, may not be easy to determine; but from the desire Soderini had to promote great undertakings, and to encourage distinguished men, it is certain that he was a

zealous patron of genius, although he might not have been a very accurate critic.*

By the fame Michael Angelo acquired from this work, the Gonfaloniere gave him a commission to make another statue of a David in bronze, which was afterwards sent into France, and a group also in bronze, of David vanquishing Goliath:† about this time he began a statue of St. Matthew, to be placed in the cathedral in Florence.‡

That he might not entirely neglect the practice of painting, he painted a Holy Family for one Angelo Doni, a Florentine gentleman of taste and *virtù*. When the picture was finished he sent it home with a note requesting the payment of seventy ducats; Angelo Doni not expecting such a charge, told the messenger he would pay

* Vasari and Condivi mention these works, tom. iii. p. 206. §. xxii. but at present they are not known.

† This statue of St. Matthew was never finished, and is now in Florence in the same state as Michael Angelo left it.

‡ ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. III.

forty, which he thought sufficient ; Michael Angelo immediately sent back the servant, and demanded his picture or an hundred ducats: Angelo Doni, wishing to keep the picture, agreed to pay the first demand: upon this, it is said, that Michael Angelo became indignant and doubled his original price, and now demanded an hundred and forty ducats ; which sum Angelo Doni finally paid.*

That Michael Angelo might have an opportunity of adding to his fame as a painter, the Gonfaloniere commissioned him to paint a large historical subject, to ornament the hall of the Ducal palace: and, as it was the honourable ambition of Soderini to employ great talents to do honour to his country, he engaged the abilities of Leonardo da Vinci, at the same time, to execute a corresponding picture to occupy the opposite side of the hall. An event in the war be-

* This picture is painted *a tempera*, and is now in the Florence gallery, and is, I believe, the only easel picture by Michael Angelo that can be authenticated.

tween the Florentines and the Pisans was the subject Michael Angelo chose ; that of Leonardo da Vinci, was a battle of cavalry.

As the cartoon of Michael Angelo was the most extraordinary work which had appeared since the revival of the arts in Italy, and, as at this day perhaps no part of it remains, I shall transcribe Vasari's account and description of it. ' The Florentine soldiers, bathing in the river Arno in the heat of the weather, were alarmed by an unexpected assault from the enemy. The hurry and confusion in getting out of the water, dressing themselves, and preparing for action, was the point of time chosen, and the principal group in the cartoon was descriptive of that scene. Some of the figures were employed in putting on their armour, buckling on the cuirass, and getting ready with precipitation to give assistance to their companions : whilst a numerous body of cavalry commenced the action. Among other figures was an old man seated on the ground, whose head was bound with a garland of ivy to shade his brows. In the tumult and confusion which

surrounded him, he was represented drawing on a hose with difficulty, from the leg being wet; and with great muscular exertion and expression of countenance he shewed both energy and impatience. The contrast in the actions and attitudes of the figures was such as the circumstances might be supposed to create, and difficult fore-shortenings characterized the deep knowledge of the artist, and his powers of execution. The figures were variously sketched; some in charcoal, others in lines drawn with a pen, and some stumped with black chalk and the lights heightened with white, exhibiting great diversity of professional skill. Such was the excellence of this work, that some thought it absolute perfection; not to be rivalled, and hopeless to be approached. And certainly credit is due to this opinion, as from the time it was placed in the Papal Hall, to the honour of Michael Angelo and the glory of the art, it was for many years constantly visited by foreigners as well as natives, who, by studying and drawing from it, became eminent masters.'⁷

⁷ The names of those who studied this cartoon, enumerated by Vasari, are Aristotile da Sangallo, Ridolfo

Michael Angelo was executing this cartoon when Julius II. was elected to the papal dignity,^{*} and, contrary to the wish of Soderini, from being invited by that pontiff to the Vatican, he left it unfinished. Afterwards he returned to Florence and completed the design; but succeeding events stayed the further prosecution of the undertaking, and the picture itself was never begun. The revolutionary changes which deprived the government of one of the best men that ever superintended the administration of public affairs, were equally unfavourable to the completion of public works, and from their consequences we have now to regret the loss of the cartoon itself.

When Soderini was forced from his situation, and the government of Florence

Ghirlandaïo, Raffaello Sanzio d'Urbino, Francesco Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, Alonzo Berugetta Spagnuolo, Andrea del Sarto, Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, il Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, Tribolo when a child, Jacopo da Puntormo, and Pierin del Vaga.

^{*} Julius II. was elected on the 3d of November 1503, and crowned on the 26th of the same month.

reverted to the Medici family, the cartoon was removed from the Senatorial council-chamber to the Medici palace, and put into a large room in an attic story, where students had free access to study from it for their improvement. From the ill state of health of the Duke Giuliano, and the worthlessness of his nephew Lorenzo, it was disregarded, and no care taken to prevent its being ill used; under these circumstances, it is said that some of the persons who were permitted to study from it, by degrees mutilated the cartoon, and ultimately destroyed it.

This irreparable injury to posterity is more particularly attributed to Baccio Bandinelli,⁹ who is accused of having made use of a false key to let himself into the room privately, and, when alone, to tear it, and carry away the pieces. Vasari,

⁹ Baccio Bandinelli was a native of Florence, born 1497. He became a celebrated painter, and ranks with the most distinguished men that Italy has produced. His composition of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence would not detract from the reputation of Raffaello.

speaking of its destruction and lamenting its loss, observes, that the charge of envy and malignity was deservedly attached to the character of Bandinelli. He also adds, that in his time there were pieces of the cartoon to be seen in the possession of individuals: and one person in particular, gentleman in Mantua, of the name of Uberto Strozzi, had a fragment, which he preserved with the greatest care. Among those who studied from it, Sebastiano da Sangallo was the only person who made a complete drawing of the principal group; from which, in the year 1542, he painted a copy in *chiar'-oscuro* for the king of France.¹

Julius II. was as distinguished for his encouragement of talents, as for his impetuosity and his unbounded ambition in the exercise of sovereign power. It was a favourite apophthegm of his, that **LEARNING**

¹ At Holkham in Norfolk there is a small *chiar'-oscuro* picture of a part of this Cartoon, and very probably the same that Sebastiano da Sangallo painted for the king of France. This group is inserted among the **ILLUSTRATIONS. DESIGN, Pl. I**

elevated the lowest orders of society, stamped the highest value on nobility, and was the most splendid gem in the diadem of sovereignty. He was no sooner seated on the throne than he was surrounded by men of genius, and Michael Angelo was among the first whom he invited, and at the same time he sent him an order for an hundred ducats to pay his expenses to Rome.² After his arrival some time elapsed before any subject could be determined upon, for the exercise of his abilities ; at length the Pope gave him an unlimited commission to make a mausoleum, in which their mutual fame might be combined.

Having received the commission, Michael Angelo commenced a design worthy of himself and his patron. The plan was a parallelogram, and the superstructure was to consist of forty statues, many of which were to be colossal, and interspersed with ornamental figures and bronze basso-relievos, besides the necessary architecture

² See Condivi, fol. § xxiii.

with appropriate decorations, to unite the composition into one stupendous whole.

When this magnificent design was completed, it met with the Pope's entire approbation, and Michael Angelo was desired to go into St. Peter's to see where it could be conveniently placed. At the west end of the church, Nicolas V. half a century before, began to erect a new tribune, but the plan had not been continued by his successors: this situation Michael Angelo thought the most appropriate, and recommended it to the consideration of his Holiness. The Pope inquired what expense would be necessary to complete it; to which Michael Angelo answered, 'A hundred thousand crowns.' To which he replied, 'It may be twice that sum; and immediately gave orders to Giuliano da Sangallo to consider of the best means to execute the work.

Sangallo, impressed with the grandeur of Michael Angelo's design, suggested to the Pope that such a Monument ought to have a chapel built on purpose for it,

to correspond to its importance, and that every part of the composition might be exhibited to the greatest advantage; at the same time he remarked, that St. Peter's was an old church, not at all adapted for so superb a mausoleum, and any alteration would only serve to destroy the character of the building. The Pope listened to these observations, and ordered several architects to make designs, to put him in possession of all that could be done under the existing circumstances; but in considering and reconsidering the subject, he passed from one improvement to another, till at length he determined to rebuild

‘ Nel ritorno di Giuliano in Roma si praticava, se l' divino Michel Angelo Buonarroto dovesse fare la sepoltura di Giulio; perchè Giuliano confortò il Papa all' impresa, aggiugnendo, che gli pareva, che per quello edificio si dovesse fabbricare una cappella a posta; senza porre quella nel vecchio San Pietro, non vi essendo luogo, perciocchè quella cappella renderebbe quell' opera più perfetta. Avendo dunque molti architetti fatti disegni, si venne in tanta considerazione a poco a poco, che in cambio di fare una cappella, si mise mano alla gran fabbrica del nuovo San Pietro.’ *Vasari, vita di Giuliano da San Gallo*, tom. ii. p. 83.

St. Peter's itself ; ' and this is the origin of that edifice which took a hundred and fifty years to complete, and is now, the grandest display of architectural splendour, that ornaments the Christian world.

By those who are curious in tracing the remote causes of great events, Michael Angelo, perhaps, may be found, though unexpectedly, thus to have laid the first stone of the Reformation. His Monument demanded a building of corresponding magnificence ; to prosecute the undertaking, money was wanted ; and indulgencies were sold to supply the deficiency of the treasury ; a monk of Saxony opposed the authority of the church ; and it is singular that the means which were employed to raise the most splendid edifice to the Catholic Faith which the world had ever seen, should at the same time have shaken that religion to its foundation.

This Monument, the base of which was a parallelogram of thirty-four feet six inches, by twenty-three, was to have been insulated,

and to have had four façades surrounded with arched recesses to contain statues; and, between them, Terms supporting a projecting cornice. On pedestals before them were to have been statues representing the provinces which the Pope had subjugated to the apostolic see: others, personifying the virtues and liberal arts, and denoting by their attitudes and expression, their loss in the death of Julius II. Above the cornice were to have been, at the angles, four colossal figures, personifying Moses and St. Paul, and Active and Contemplative Life;* and above them, a frieze of basso-relievos in bronze, and smaller figures. To crown the whole, two statues representing Heaven and Earth were to support a sarcophagus: the former, expressing joy, on the reception of Julius into a happier and a better world; the latter, sorrow for his loss. Within the monument, a sepulchral cham-

* From the collection of Mariette, an original sketch for this mausoleum was published by Bottari; by which it would seem, that Michael Angelo once had an intention of placing two figures at each angle.

ber of an oval form, was to have contained the body of the Pope.

For this great work Michael Angelo went to Carrara, to procure a quantity of marble necessary for the undertaking, and the Pope gave him an order upon a banker in Florence for a thousand ducats to pay for it. That he might be sure of having such blocks as were best adapted to his purpose, he took up his residence for eight months at the quarry, superintending and giving directions.⁵ Part of the marble he ordered to be sent to Rome, and part to Florence, that he might execute some of the figures there, when the unwholesomeness of the summer season at the Vatican

⁵ While Michael Angelo was superintending the workmen in the quarry, Condivi says, that one day being on the top of a mountain which overlooked the sea, it occurred to his mind to make a colossal figure which might serve as a mark for mariners, to be seen at a distance; and he would certainly have carried his intention into execution, if the Pope's monument had not been a work of too much importance to be delayed.

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might subject him to the *malaria*.⁶ He then returned to Rome, and immediately began to apply to his profession as a sculptor.

The Pope had a personal attachment to Michael Angelo, and conversed with him liberally upon all subjects; and that he might visit him frequently and with perfect convenience, he made a covered bridge from the Vatican palace to his study, to enable him to pass at all times without being observed. This partiality, however, is said to have excited some jealousy in those who were dependents on the Court; and as jealousy seeks not to participate, but to monopolize favours, so he that has distinguished friends, is often injured by secret enemies. Michael Angelo had a high and a just sense of his own acknowledged merit, and a constitutional sensibility which made

⁶ Malaria is the cause of a disease common in the south of Italy, produced by an effluvia from damp and marshy ground acted upon by heat. It is treated of in the works of Lanesius and Sir John Pringle.

him feel the full value of kindness, but at the same time he was equally sensible to coldness and inattention ; nor should this feeling be too hastily censured, since it requires but little experience to know, that when esteem begins to decline, all that is valuable in friendship is lost.

It was the constant practice of Michael Angelo, by the Pope's particular desire, whenever he had occasion for money, to apply to him in person, that he might suffer no inconvenience from delay. To defray certain expenses incurred by the arrival of a quantity of marble from Carrara, he went to the palace as usual ; but access was denied to him. As this might have happened from causes which it did not belong to him to inquire into, he only felt the disappointment, and retired. Another morning he repeated his visit, but was rudely interrupted by an officer in waiting, who said, ' I have an order not to let you enter.' A Prelate, standing by, immediately asked him if he knew to whom he was speaking ; to which he replied, ' I know

him well enough, and it is my duty to obey my orders.' Michael Angelo felt with irritation this unmerited disgrace, and in the warmth of his feelings desired him to tell the Pope, ' If his Holiness wants me, from this time forward, he must seek me in another place.' In the same temper of mind he returned home, and ordered his servants to sell the furniture in his house to the Jews, and to follow him to Florence. He left Rome the same evening, and arrived at Poggibonzi castle, in Tuscany, before he rested, being then completely out of the papal dominions.

The Pope was no sooner informed of this hasty measure, than he dispatched five couriers with orders to reconduct him back; but he was not overtaken until he was in a foreign State, where they had no authority. They however delivered the Pope's letter to this import: ' Immediately return to Rome, on pain of our displeasure.' To this mandate the messengers joined their intreaties, but without effect; and as they had no power to enforce the commands of his Holi-

ness, they requested him to write an answer, and date it from Poggibonzi, to exempt them from blame in not having executed the commission with which they were charged. Although Michael Angelo obstinately refused to return, he readily complied with this request, and the letter is said to have been to this effect:—‘ Being expelled the antichamber of your Holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, I took the only course left me to pursue, consistent with the preservation of that character which has hitherto rendered me worthy your confidence. Nor can I return;—for if I were undeserving of your esteem yesterday, I shall not be worthy of it to-morrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which can be as little desirable to your Holiness as myself.’ Dated from Poggibonzi, and the couriers were dismissed, and Michael Angelo pursued his journey to Florence.

The Pope, however, was not satisfied with this answer, and immediately addressed the following letter to the government of Florence.

‘ Health and apostolic benediction to our dearly beloved. Michael Angelo, who has left us capriciously, and without any reason that we have been able to learn, is now in Florence, and remains there in fear of our displeasure, but against whom we have nothing to allege, as we know the humour of men of his stamp. However, that he may lay aside all suspicion, we invite him with the same affection that you bear towards us; and, if he will return, we promise on our part, that he shall be neither touched nor offended, and be re-instated in the same apostolic grace he enjoyed before he left us. Rome, the 8th of July, 1506. III. year of our pontificate.’⁶

⁶ Julius PP. 11. *Dilectis filiis Prioribus libertatis, et Vexillifero justitiæ populi Florentini.*

‘ *Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Michel Angelus sculptor, qui a nobis leviter et inconsulte discessit, redire, ut accepimus, ad nos timet, cui nos non succensemus; novimus hujusmodi hominum ingenia. Ut tamen omnem suspicionem deponat, devotionem vestram hortamur, velit ei nomine nostro promittere, quod si ad nos redierit, illæsus inviolatusque erit, et in eâ gratiâ apostolicâ nos habituros, quâ habebatur ante discessum.*

‘ *Datum Romæ 8 Julii 1506. Pontificatus nostri III.*

This letter being rather in the nature of a request than a command, and Michael Angelo, not feeling inclined to return, the Gonfaloniere thought that his Holiness would give himself no further trouble, and the affair would be forgotten; but the sovereign pontiff, whose power had established a dominion over the minds and sentiments of mankind, to which all Europe often submitted with implicit obedience, was not so easily disposed to yield up his authority, and this first letter was followed by a second, and a third, of a more decisive character. Soderini then told Michael Angelo, ‘ You have done by the Pope what the king of France would not have presumed to do; he must be no longer trifled with, we cannot make war against his Holiness to risk the safety of the State, therefore his will must be obeyed.’ Michael Angelo finding himself thus embarrassed, recurred to a proposal, made to him some time before, through the medium of certain friars of the order of St. Francis, to enter into the service of Bajazet II., to build a bridge between Constantinople and Pera.

Soderini hearing of this project, sent for him to divert his intention. He urged that it was better to die under the Pope's displeasure, than to enjoy life with every earthly advantage in the service of the Turk; besides, he had nothing to fear from his Holiness, who, in his sacred character, was the dispenser of kindness and mercy; yet, if he were at all apprehensive for his security, the government of Florence would send him with the appointment of ambassador, which, by the law of nations, would be respected. On this condition Michael Angelo consented to return.

The ambition of foreign princes, and the discord of contending parties which prevailed in the different forms of government in the northern States of Italy, gave opportunity to the enterprising talents of Julius II. to increase his temporal power. Bologna, which once had the form of a republic; by various revolutions was governed at one time by a powerful citizen, and at another, by a foreign prince, at length became subject to the Holy See. In the pontificate of

Nicolas V. it was, under certain limitations, in favour of the Bentivoglio family, added to the Ecclesiastical State; the power of the Popes, however, declined, and Giovanni Bentivoglio established an absolute sovereignty in his own person. Julius II. by the aid of Louis XII. king of France, who, although obliged to abandon the south of Italy, was still in possession of Milan, determined once more to restore Bologna with its dependencies to the Church. The Pope also resolved to reduce the city of Perugia to obedience; or, in the language of the times, to free it from the tyranny of Gianpagolo Baglione; who, from a private citizen, had become the head of a faction, and trampled on its liberties.

As the reasons for adopting such measures as are most favourable to the wishes of those who are in authority, are often given more with a view to divert, than to inform the understanding of others; so Guicciardini asserts, that the true cause of this war upon Bologna was, that the Pope might gratify a private pique against Gio-

vanni Bentivoglio. In the reign of Alexander VI. Bentivoglio had been instigated by that pontiff to give orders for the arrest and imprisonment of the Cardinal della Rovere whilst residing in his bishopric at Cento, in the Bolognese territory; from which he only escaped by a timely and precipitate retreat; and, according to that celebrated historian, the zeal and piety of Julius to restore to the Apostolic See whatever had been tyrannically taken from it, was only a cloak for his ambition, or personal animosity.

Be this as it may, on the 26th of August 1506, he left Rome to achieve his enterprise, placing himself at the head of the army, and accompanied by twenty-four cardinals. When he arrived at Orvieto, Baglioni found it most prudent, courteously to yield to the authority, which it would have been ruinous to resist; and introduced himself to the Pope, at once to resign his power and offer him his services. The preliminaries, which were short, and as favourable to Baglioni as might have been

expected, put his Holiness into immediate possession of Perugia; from whence, after making some necessary arrangements for its security, he continued his march to Imola. Here the Pope summoned Bentivoglio to resign his authority; but Bentivoglio had calculated upon resources sufficiently important to make his resistance formidable, and felt no disposition passively to submit. A body of three⁷ thousand infantry, and six hundred horse, marched from Milan under the command of Sciomonte, nominally to protect the government of Bentivoglio, and oppose the invading enemy; Louis XII. had, however, preconcerted how his interest might be better served by attaching himself to the sovereign of the church; and as, in his treacherous conspiracy with Ferdinand of Arragon, he had given sufficient proof, of how little value he considered the moral obligations which are essential in private life; so, upon this occasion, the troops which were nominally given to Bentivoglio for his defence, by a secret treaty were devoted to the

⁷ Guicciardini Storia d'Italia, lib. vii.

service of the Pope. Under these circumstances all prospect of resistance was hopeless, and with little choice what line of conduct to pursue, Bentivoglio privately quitted Bologna with his family, and retired into the Milanese. The city being left to itself, no difficulties remained for his Holiness to gain complete possession ; and on St. Martin's day (Nov. 11) he made his entry, with great pomp.

Being now at Bologna enjoying the advantages of his enterprise, and at peace with the inhabitants, the Gonfaloniere considered it a favourable opportunity for Michael Angelo to make his peace with the Pope, and his brother the Cardinal Soderini was willing to undertake the mediation. Michael Angelo acceded to the proposition, and immediately went to Bologna. When he arrived, the Cardinal was unfortunately indisposed, and he deputed a Monsignore of his household to officiate in his stead, and introduce him to his Holiness, who was then residing in the government palace. As Michael Angelo entered the presence-

chamber the Pope gave him a look of displeasure, and after a short pause, saluted him, —“ In the stead of your coming to us, you seem to have expected that we should come to you.” Michael Angelo replied with submission; that his error arose from too hastily feeling a disgrace he was unconscious of meriting, and hoped his Holiness would overlook what was past. The Monsignore^{*} standing by, not thinking this a sufficient apology, endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by saying, that great allowance was to be made for such men, who were ignorant of every thing, but their art; the Pope hastily replied, “ Thou hast vilified him, which I have not; thou art an ignorant fellow, and no man of genius; get out of my sight :” upon which one of the attendants immediately pushed him out of the room. The Pope then gave Michael Angelo his benediction, and restored him to his favour; and desired that

^{*} Vasari calls this dignitary a Bishop (il Vescovo), but I have preferred the appellation of Monsignore, on the authority of Condivi.

he would not quit Bologna till he had given him a commission for some work of art. In a few days afterwards he ordered a colossal statue of himself, to be made in bronze.

During the Pope's stay Michael Angelo employed himself in making the model, and was honoured with his frequent visits. The air and attitude of the statue is said to have been austere and majestic; in one of the visits Michael Angelo received from his Holiness, the Pope, making his observations and remarks with his accustomed familiarity, asked if the extended right arm was bestowing a blessing, or a curse on the people? "*La benedizione o la maledizione?*" To which Michael Angelo replied, The action is only meant to be hostile to disobedience; and then asked his Holiness, whether he would not have a book put into the other hand? To which the Pope frankly replied, "No, a sword would be more adapted to my character."

The Pope left Bologna at the end of

February, 1507, intrusting the government of the city to Cardinal Regino. Michael Angelo remained to finish the statue, which he completed in sixteen months, and placed it in the façade of the church of St. Petronio; and at the end of June, 1508, returned to Rome.

The thirst of governing, with little attention to the means by which despotic power was acquired or maintained, sullied and degraded the most conspicuous characters in the history of these times. The Venetians being more prudent and prosperous, and more united in their councils, than their neighbours, were feared, or hated, by all the powers in Europe, and the celebrated league of Cambray was formed for no other purpose than to destroy their government and make a partition of their territory. But heterogenous bodies seldom unite to accomplish any one great end; inequality of power, of interest, or ability, has a constant tendency to detach the parts of which it is composed. To retain the possession of Bologna, and to add Romagna to the

Ecclesiastical State, induced Julius II. to enter into this confederacy. When this object was obtained he withdrew from the league, and changed his politics as seemed best adapted to secure his possessions ; but he miscalculated his strength, and Bologna, which by the assistance of Louis XII. was made subject to the Holy See in 1506, was retaken by his arms in 1511, and the Bentivoglio family restored to their influence and authority.

Upon this event, the Pope became a fit object for the popular voice to insult, and for the extravagance of party to mark its own disgrace, by pusillanimous resentment. His bronze statue was thrown down, dragged about the streets, broken to pieces, and destroyed. The mutilated fragments were afterwards sent to the Duke of Ferrara, who preserved the head, which was entire, and he cast the other fragments into a piece of ordnance, to which he gave the name of Giulio.^a Muratori says, this statue

^a The loss of this statue is greatly to be regretted ; it is described to have been nearly ten feet high (five

was set up at the expense of five thousand ducats, and gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano :

Quo quo tam trepidus fugis, Viator ;
 Ac si te Furiæve, Gorgonesve,
 Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur ?
 —Non hic JULIUS—at figura JULI est !¹

† On the arrival of Michael Angelo at Rome, he expected to have proceeded with the Monument which he had left, but the Pope had changed his mind, and now determined, instead of prosecuting that work, to decorate with pictures the ceiling and walls of the Sistine Chapel, to honour the

braccia), and was destroyed on the 30th of December, 1511. I have never seen any print or representation of it. The head, which was preserved entire in the Museum of the Duke of Ferrara, he is said to have considered as of inestimable value ; which is an honourable testimony of his virtù, as it was not probable he could have had any affection for the person whom it was meant to represent. Since the death of Alfonso, what became of this fragment is not known.

‡ Traveller, whither, whither doest thou flee with so much trepidation, as if the Furies, or the Gorgons, or the fierce basilisk followed thee ?—This is not Julius—but the figure of Julius !

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memory of his uncle Sixtus IV. This was no sooner proposed, to Michael Angelo, than he felt his disappointment, and made every possible objection to engage in the undertaking, being solicitous to execute his great work of sculpture, and fearful of hazarding his reputation on a new employment, where his want of practice and experience, necessarily diminished his hope of success. Among other arguments, he urged that fresco-painting was not his profession, and recommended his Holiness to give the commission to Raffaello, in whose hands such a work would do honour to them both. The Pope, however, was predetermined, and his determinations were not easily set aside, so that each objection seemed only to be an additional incentive to fix his will more firmly; perceiving therefore, that it was useless to contend, Michael Angelo prudently yielded to his authority.

The causes, which operated to induce the Pope to abandon or suspend the execution of his Monument, have not been satisfactorily given. Bramante is particularly charged with having used his influence with

the Pope, during Michael Angelo's absence when at Bologna, to divert his attention from prosecuting the design. The known partiality of Julius to works of sculpture, in preference to painting and architecture, is said to have excited the jealousy of Bramante, lest Michael Angelo might have too great an ascendancy in the Vatican, so as to interfere with his own reputation, and the confidence which was reposed in him as the architect of St. Peter's: but a still more plausible ground is said to have influenced his mind,—the advancement of Raffaello,—who was his relation, and but recently introduced to Court. Another reason is also given more subtle in its plan and indirect in its application. As Michael Angelo was known never to have painted a single figure in fresco, to employ him in so great a work, to which he must have been reasonably supposed inadequate, would be a means of striking at his high reputation; and want of success would operate to the advantage of Raffaello, who was then painting the stanzas in the Vatican.² That Bra-

² Vasari, tom. iii. p. 219. Condivi, § xxxiii.

mante was not on terms of friendship with Michael Angelo, there is every reason to believe; but whatever were the causes of this new arrangement, they are buried in oblivion; and it would be now hopeless to inquire, whether they ought to be attributed to individual caprice, or the machinations of those who wished to injure the sculptor in the esteem of his patron.

The Sistine Chapel was built by Sixtus IV. and the walls were ornamented with historical paintings by various masters. These pictures were to be effaced, and the entire chapel to be painted by Michael Angelo, so as for the parts to correspond and make one uniform whole.*

It being now decided that he must make an attempt to execute this great undertak-

* The pictures which ornamented the chapel were painted by Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, Sandro Botticelli, Cosimo Roselli, and Domenico Ghirlandaïo, and still remain to decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel; the death of Julius II. having prevented the completion of the original design.

ing, he commenced the Cartoons; and orders were given to the architect of St. Peter's to construct a scaffolding for the work to be painted in fresco. When the scaffolding was finished Michael Angelo found it extremely objectionable, particularly from certain holes pierced in the ceiling for cords to pass through to suspend a part of the machinery. He asked the architect how the ceiling could be completed if they were suffered to remain? To which he answered, "It is impossible to avoid making them, and the remedy must be a subsequent consideration." This created a dispute, and Michael Angelo represented it to the Pope as a defect which might have been avoided, if he had better understood the principles of mechanism. His Holiness therefore gave Michael Angelo permission to take it down, and erect another in its stead. He then designed and constructed one so complete, that Bramante afterwards adopted it in the building of St. Peter's; and it is most probably that simple and admirable piece of machinery which is now used in Rome whenever there is occasion for scaf-

folding to repair or construct the interior of public buildings. This invention Michael Angelo gave to the poor man whom he employed as his carpenter, and, from the commissions he received for making others on the same construction, he realized a small fortune.*

Michael Angelo had never painted in fresco, and when the Cartoons were finished, he sent to Florence and engaged such persons as were experienced in that branch of the art; but, from the first specimen of their abilities, their efforts proved so little satisfactory, that he determined to try how far he could himself overcome those difficulties which made it necessary for him to require their assistance; and, without giving them any previous notice, he locked

* By his gains, Condivi says, he was enabled to give marriage portions with his daughters. “Disfece Michel Angelo il ponte e ne cavò tanti canapi, che avendogli donati a un pover uomo, che l’aiutò, fu cagione, ch’egli ne maritasse due sue figliuole. Così fece senza corde il suo, così ben tessuto e composto, che sempre era più fermo quanto maggior peso aveva.”

himself in the chapel, destroyed their work, and commenced painting, without suffering any one to interrupt him.*

As in the execution of great works all the circumstances connected with their progress are interesting, it may gratify curiosity to know that the subject of the Deluge on the ceiling was the picture, on which he first made trial of his powers in fresco-painting. This picture was no sooner finished than it was obscured by a misty appearance, which so disconcerted Michael Angelo, that he went to the Pope and desired that he might be suffered entirely to relinquish the undertaking; as, to contend with embarrassments which he saw no means of removing, would not only

* “Ma veduto le fatiche loro molto lontane dal desiderio suo, e non sodisfacendogli, una mattina, si risolvè gettare a terra ogni cosa che avevano fatto; e rinchiutosi nella cappella, non volle mai aprir loro; ne manco in casa dov’era da essi si lasciò vedere; e così dalla beffa; la quale pareva loro che troppo durasse, presero partito e con vergogna se ne tornarono a Fiorenza.” *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 221.

render his exertion useless, but produce mutual dissatisfaction and disappointment. His Holiness, who was determined not to be foiled in his original object, attended to every objection with wary suspicion; he therefore ordered San Gallo, who was in his confidence and esteem, to investigate the causes of the defect, and make his report. San Gallo was a skilful architect, and well versed in various branches of knowledge. When he saw the picture, he explained the cause to arise from the plaster being made too wet. This being easily avoided, Michael Angelo then proceeded with his work, and no other difficulty of any importance, prevented or impeded his progress.*

* Tarras mortar, well known in England, when kept in a state most favourable to its cementing principle, throws out a substance something like the stony concretions in caverns of limestone strata, called stalactites; which substance becomes considerably hard, and in time so exuberant as to deform the face of the wall. The terra pozzolana, in common use in Italy, is much of the same quality with this earth, and the exudation on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel was probably of the same nature.

As the painting advanced, the Pope frequently visited him in the chapel, and ascended the ladder to the top of the scaffolding, where Michael Angelo used to lend him his hand that he might get with safety on the platform. Notwithstanding this daily opportunity of indulging an eager curiosity, his Holiness grew impatient to see the general effect, as far as it was advanced ; and, to pacify the natural impetuosity of his temper, all the machinery was removed before half the ceiling was completed. To gratify the curiosity of a patron by a premature exhibition, is often a hazardous experiment ; but fortunately this was attended with no disappointment. The Pope was perfectly satisfied, and all men of taste and virtù so eagerly pressed forward to avail themselves of this opportunity to see the chapel, that they crowded into it before the dust had subsided which was occasioned by the taking down of the scaffolding.

The rivals and enemies of Michael Angelo, if any there were, who hoped to see his

genius reduced to a level with their own, were now disappointed ; nevertheless Bramante was accused of unworthily condescending to use his influence, to his prejudice, by secretly soliciting the Pope to permit Raffaello to paint the other half of the ceiling, that he might share the honour of the undertaking. Of this insidious proceeding Michael Angelo had immediate intimation, and appealed to the Pope in the presence of Bramante himself, to justify his claim to the completion of a work which he had so successfully begun. The Pope, however, was so perfectly satisfied with that part of the chapel already executed, that he was not to be swayed by any undue influence ; and desired Michael Angelo to proceed without interruption.

After the curiosity of Rome was satisfied, he resumed his work, and with the most persevering assiduity continued it till he brought it to a conclusion. The ceiling, which is coved, he ornamented with architectural decorations painted in chiar'-oscuro, and separated into numerous com-

partments. The flat space at the top he divided into nine compartments, each containing a subject from the Old Testament, in the following order.

The Deity dividing the light from the darkness, may be considered as the first in the arrangement; the second picture represents a personification of the Deity, with extended arms, creating the Sun and Moon, and in the same compartment, creating and fructifying the earth; in the third space the Deity is supposed to be looking down upon the waters, commanding them to be a habitable deep; the fourth is the creation of Adam, in which the omnipotent power is surrounded by angels, extending his right arm as if imparting the vital principle to created man; the fifth is the creation of Eve; the sixth, the loss of Paradise; the seventh, the sacrifice by Cain and Abel; the eighth, the Deluge; and the ninth represents the inebriation and exposure of Noah. Beneath the *chiar'-oscuro* entablature, which divides the coved from the flat part of the ceiling, are arranged forty-eight

infantine figures, standing two and two on pedestals, in diversified attitudes, supporting the cornice as caryatides; and between them are seated twelve colossal figures of Prophets and Sibyls, alternately arranged.⁷

⁷ The Sibyls, who were the virgin prophetesses of antiquity, are affirmed, by St. Augustin, Eusebius, and the fathers of the primitive church, to have foretold the birth of Christ. LIBYCA is said to have prophesied, "The day shall come when men shall see the King of all living things." CUMÆA, "That God shall be born of a virgin, and converse among sinners." DELPHICA announced that, "A Prophet should be born of a virgin." ERYTHRÆA, who was a Babylonian, is said to have foretold a great part of the Christian religion in certain verses recorded by Eusebius, the first letters of which being put together make the words, JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR; these verses were translated into Latin by St. Augustin. PERSICA foretold that, "The womb of the virgin should be the salvation of the Gentiles." These were the opinions of the divines and schoolmen of later times, who gave them a place among the prophets of the sacred writings, and this is the reason of their being alternately introduced with them in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Besides these five, believed by the ancients to have been inspired by Jupiter, there were five others of the same credit and authority, ALBANEÆ, CUMANA, HELLESPONTIACA, SAMIS, and TIBERTINA.

Over the windows, in compartments called lunettes, are fourteen compositions, and an equal number of tablets, inscribed with names expressing the genealogy of Christ; and in triangular spaces produced by the thickness of the wall immediately over the lunettes, are introduced eight compositions of domestic subjects. In the angles at the four extreme corners of the ceiling are represented the miracle of the brazen serpent, the execution of Haman, the death of Goliah, and the treachery of Judith. Besides these various compositions, are ten medallions with historical subjects, and more than fifty single figures disposed of as ornamental accompaniments to the general design. As the most elaborate and minute description of this comprehensive work would only puzzle the mind, and make but a vague and uncertain impression, I refer the reader to a sketch of the whole ceiling, with the compositions and their arrangement, as a more satisfactory way of making it better understood by those, who have not seen the chapel itself.*

* See ILLUSTRATIONS, PAINTING, III.

From the commencement to the conclusion of this stupendous monument of human genius twenty months only were employed. So short a time for the completion of so vast a work could hardly be credited, if it were not more difficult to refuse the testimony on which it stands, than to believe the fact. Nevertheless the Pope harassed its progress with impatience ; for he was an old man ; and as his designs, of every kind, were always planned with the enthusiasm of youth, so they were hastened by a consciousness that he had no time to lose. To comply, therefore, with this impatience, Michael Angelo removed the scaffolding before he had put the last finish to his work ; and on All Saints' day, in the year 1512, the chapel was opened ; and the Pope officiated at high mass to a crowded and admiring audience.

After this solemnity, and when the public curiosity was gratified, the Pope consented that the pictures should be retouched ; but, Michael Angelo contemplating the inconvenience of re-erecting the scaffolding, de-

clined doing any thing more, and said that what was wanting was not of material importance, the Pope observed, that the pictures ought to be ornamented with gold, to give a characteristic splendour to the chapel, to which Michael Angelo replied, “ In those days of simplicity, gold was not worn, and the characters I have painted were neither rich nor desirous of wealth, but holy men, with whom gold was an object of contempt.”

The ceiling being finished, Michael Angelo applied himself to make designs and studies for other pictures for the sides of the chapel; but, on the 21st of February, 1513, the Pope died, and with him Michael Angelo's commission expired.

The talents of JULIUS II. have been usually balanced against the violence of his temper, and the want of due decorum in his pontifical character; yet it is acknowledged, that if he had been a temporal prince, distinguished honours would not

have been denied to him.¹ He had courage, to rank with the brave,² a strong mind, and comprehensive political views; but apostolical virtue, he found inadequate to his purpose. He was by nature fitted for sovereignty, and knew no way to in-

¹ *Vide Guicciardini, lib. xl.* “Francis I. also gave an honourable testimony to the skill and courage of Julius as a soldier, in a declaration he made to Leo X. to extenuate his having borne arms against the head of the church in the reign of his predecessor.”—“Pater Sancte, non miremini si omnes sunt inimici Papæ Julii, quia ipse etiam fuit maximus inimicus noster, et non cognovimus nostro sæculo terribiliorem hostem in bellis quam Papam Julium, qui in veritate fuit prudentissimus Capitaneus, et melius fuisset imperator exercitus, quam Papa Romanus.” Paris de Grassis has recorded this declaration, which took place at one of the public interviews of Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, where he was present as master of the ceremonies to the Pope.

² At the siege of Mirandola (21 Jan. 1511) Julius, at the head of his troops, fearlessly exposed himself to the fire of the enemy in planning the order of attack, and was present in every important situation of danger; before the town could formally capitulate, he mounted the scaling ladder, and entered it sword and hand through the breach he had made. *Muratori Annal. d' Italia.*

crease the Patrimony of St. Peter, but by the sword : and while the highest praise is bestowed on splendid triumphs and successful war, it must not be forgotten, that we contribute to the vices we condemn. He encouraged and protected genius, and was a distinguished patron of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture ; and though involved in war and political contests during the whole of his short reign, sufficient evidence remains of his fostering care ; and as long as the works of Bramante, Raffaello, and Michael Angelo, partake of our admiration, JULIUS II. will have a just claim to the esteem and gratitude of mankind,

A short time before his death, he desired that his Monument might be finished, and left it to the care of Cardinal Santi Quattro, and to his nephew Cardinal Aginense. After his death, however, the cardinal nephew calculated the expense, and his arithmetic was conclusive : the original design of the mausoleum was therefore laid aside, and Michael Angelo received

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instructions to make another, on a limited scale, and at a stipulated price.

Michael Angelo, sensible of the loss he had sustained, and warm with feelings of gratitude, eagerly commenced his new undertaking, and employed such assistance as could forward its progress, hoping to have no interruption; but Leo X. who succeeded to the pontificate, disturbed his plan. This magnificent potentate, whose reign makes an æra in literature and the arts, upon his accession to the papal throne, professed the same warmth of attachment, and the same zeal as his predecessor, to promote the talents of Michael Angelo. That his abilities might be employed to the honour of his native city, Leo wished him to return to Florence to build the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo, which remained unfinished from the time of his grand-father Cosmo de' Medici. The stipulation Michael Angelo had made with the Cardinals to execute the Monument of his patron Julius II. he stated to the Pope as an engagement

which it was not in his power either to rescind or to procrastinate, and therefore he hoped to be excused from undertaking a commission which must necessarily interfere with it. He had so earnest a desire to devote all his attention to this work, that he was happy to have so good a reason to prevent his being diverted from it; but Leo requested the cardinals to suspend their claims, which it was not for them to refuse,¹ and Michael Angelo was obliged, though reluctantly, to obey the will of the Pontiff.

As soon as he arrived in Florence he made his arrangements for executing the façade, and went to Carrara for the marble, and at the same time, to obtain such marble as he might want for the monument of Julius, that when residing in Florence he might be fully employed. At this time

¹ As some consolation to the cardinals, the Pope told them that Michael Angelo might forward the monument at Florence; but this indulgence afforded little satisfaction to them, and still less to Michael Angelo. “Che tutto fu con dispiacere de' Cardinali e di Michelagnolo, che si partì piangendo.” *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 232.

Pope received information that good marble was to be obtained in the mountains of Pietra Santa,[†] in the Florentine state, equal in quality to that of the quarries of Carrara; and while Michael Angelo was at Carrara, he received a letter from his Holiness desiring him to go to Pietra Santa and ascertain how far this information was correct. He obeyed his orders, and, in a short time after, sent him the result of his investigation, which did not prove so favourable as had been represented to his Holiness. The marble was more difficult to work, and of inferior quality; added to which, there was no practical means of conveying it to Florence, without making a road of many miles to the sea through mountains, to be cut at a considerable expence, and over marshes which would require to be traversed with fascines and rafts to make them passable. These objections, however, made but a slight impression on the Pope, compared with the advantages

[†] Pietra Santa was the name of a castle, which gave this distinctive appellation to the mountains in its neighbourhood.

he anticipated from obtaining so valuable a material in a territory which he could at any time call his own. Michael Angelo was therefore desired to proceed ; and it is mortifying to reflect, that the talents of Michael Angelo were buried in these mountains, and his time consumed, during the whole reign of Leo X. in little else than in raising stone out of a quarry, and making a road to convey it to the sea.

As the reign of Leo X.* is an entire blank in the life of Michael Angelo, it may not be without its interest in this place to consider that taste, and patronage, which is supposed so materially to have contributed to the splendour of his pontificate. The golden days of Leo have long been proverbial in Europe, and he has been often represented as the sole cause of the literature and refinement of his age. A reign of eight years and as many months is a limited time for that exalted reputation

* Leo X. was elected to the pontificate on the 11th of March 1513, and died on the 1st of Dec. 1521, having reigned eight years, eight months, and nineteen days.

which has been conceded to him ; but great and despotic power when displayed with ostentatious grandeur, acquires a dazzling ascendancy over the feelings and opinions of mankind : to this charm much of the praise of Leo may be attributed.*

When Leo ascended the papal throne,

* In his reign events too trifling to have conferred any distinction on private life are celebrated by his panegyrists as if, of the greatest magnitude and importance : see *Antiquaria*, a Latin poem by Andrea Fulvius, in two books, which M. Fabroni, in his life of Leo X. has made us acquainted with. Mr. Roscoe has also given a Latin poem by Valeriano, which praises Leo with extravagance and predicts his future glory, for having cleared away some brambles on an island in the Tiber, and exposed the remains of its original fortification, which was constructed in the form of a Roman galley. Mr. Roscoe himself speaking on this subject, has made a slight mistake, by supposing the discovery of this galley to be a piece of sculpture dug up in the island.

Leo X. also placed a porphyry sarcophagus, now containing the remains of Clement XII. in the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, under the portico of the Pantheon, which is thus commemorated : “ Leo X. sovereign Pontiff and most provident prince commanded that this most elegant vase of Numidian marble be replaced

the arts in Rome were at their meridian ; he found greater talents than he employed, and greater works commenced than he completed. Those men who have been for succeeding ages the admiration of mankind, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raffaello, performed their greatest works,

and ornamented after this manner, that it might not be polluted by the filth of negligence and consigned to oblivion."

Upon his elevation to the pontificate he removed the group of the Laocoön to the Vatican, and in exchange for the annuity conferred by Julius II. upon the person who discovered it, Leo X. gave him the appointment of apostolic notary. "Thus," says Mr. Roscoe, "the encouragement afforded to those who devoted themselves to these inquiries gave new vigour to their researches. The production of a genuine specimen of antiquity secured to the fortunate possessor a competency for life, and the acquisition of a fine statue was almost equivalent to a bishopric." It is in this way that we are still betrayed into an undue admiration of Leo's greatness.

The group of the Laocoön was discovered in the year 1508, in a recess in the ruins of the Baths of Titus. The name of the discoverer was Felici de Fredis, and the fact is thus recorded on his tomb, "Felici de Fredis who, for his own virtues, and for the discovery of the divine and animated statue of the Laocoön, which is now to be seen in the Vatican, has merited immortality. A. D. 1528."

before the accession of Leo X.; and Bramante, the architect of St. Peter's, died in the second year of his pontificate. Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo are acknowledged not to have been benefited by his munificence; and for the magnificence of the state-chambers in the Vatican, posterity is indebted to the pontificate of Julius II. The two rooms painted by Raffaello himself, on which, as a painter, his reputation most depends, were nearly completed in that reign.'

Leo X. however, derives his strongest

' The first room of this suite of apartments was finished in the year 1511, and the second was completed in 1514. Of the pictures in this room Raffaello had painted the Miracle of Bolsena and the death of Heliodorus, and he appears to have been painting the subject of the Retreat of Attila when Julius II. died; which may be conjectured from this circumstance. In this picture, the portrait of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici is introduced as an attendant in the pontifical group, and also, as Pope; so that there now remain two portraits of Leo X. one as a Cardinal, and another as Pontiff; which probably would not have happened had the Cardinal been elected Pope before the picture was begun.

In this composition Raffaello never meant originally to

claims as a patron of the arts from his attachment to Raffaello; and Mr. Roscoe has said,^s that under his patronage the works commenced in the chambers of the Vatican proceeded with increased ardour. I should be happy to concur with him in the same opinion, but all the facts I am acquainted with, lead me to a different conclusion. The first room was begun under Julius II. in the year 1508, and finished in 1511; the second was completed in 1514; and the third, consisting of only four pictures, took up an equal time with the two other rooms. The pictures in this room are very inferior to those in the other apartments, and are, for the most part, evidently painted by Raffaello's scholars and assistants, and the ceiling, which was painted by Pietro

have introduced this group; and its introduction may be considered as a sacrifice of his better taste and judgment to the will of his patron. The group which supplied its place in the first design, was composed of figures on horseback and on foot, in character with the action and general interest of the composition. The original drawing I have seen in the gallery of the Louvre in Paris.

^s Vide *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 227.

Perugino, was suffered to remain, while the ceilings of the other rooms include eight historical and allegorical subjects, besides an equal number on a small scale, combined with a rich display of grotesque and arabesque ornament ; all painted by Raffaello. The Hall of Constantine, completing this suite of apartments, was left to be finished from Raffaello's designs, he having painted only two single figures of Mercy and Justice.

That Raffaello was much employed, and almost monopolized the court favour, in the pontificate of Leo X. there can be no doubt; but after the completion of the two first rooms, his works in the Vatican are executed more in the character of a manufactory than with the taste and feeling of a painter, which gave rise to the remark of Mengs, that Raffaello in the reign of Leo X. was not the same painter as Raffaello in the pontificate of Julius II.*

* After the painting of the two rooms already mentioned, the two figures of Justice and Mercy in the Hall of Constantine, and the figure of the woman carrying

Whether Leo X. had really a refined taste for works of art, it is not easy to determine; but this is known, that Raffaello made many cartoons of religious subjects to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel,' which were sent by the Pope into Flanders, to be returned in arras. The tapestry being executed the cartoons were not returned, and no inquiry appears to have been made concerning them; but by good fortune seven of them have been preserved, and from their merit the loss of the others may be estimated.

Whether Leonardo da Vinci visited

water to extinguish the fire in the "*Incendio del Borgo*," are painted by Raffaello himself.

* Seventeen of these cartoons have been engraved; but Vasari makes no mention of their original number, nor enumerates the subjects: neither does he accurately define the place they were intended to decorate. In his *Life of Marc' Antonio*, he says, they were made for the Pope's Chapel, which I conjecture to be the Chapel of Sixtus, as the only one in the Vatican fit for their reception.

The tapestries, which were made from these cartoons, were richly ornamented with gold and floss-silk, and cost the Pope seventy thousand crowns.

Rome in the pontificate of Leo is doubtful; if he did not, it is more than probable he was not invited; and if he did, it is quite certain that he executed no commission for the Pope. The powers of this extraordinary man have been universally acknowledged. He was a phenomenon in art and science; and whether he be regarded for his accomplishments or his various attainments, whether as the philosopher, or the painter who made a new æra in the arts of design, he has equally arrested the attention of posterity; and it must ever be a subject of regret, that he, who could successfully contend with Michael Angelo, and who painted the Last Supper in the Refectory of the Dominicans at Milan, should not have been known in Rome, by any display of his powers, in the golden days of Leo X.

To seek for reasons why Michael Angelo was not more fortunately employed during this reign, might lead to a wide field of speculation. The attachment of this Pope to the arts, proceeded, rather, from their

importance to the pomp, and shew of power, which was the delight of his mind, than from any other feeling of their worth; and it is sufficient to account for his indifference and procrastination, to know, that wars, alliances, and subsidies, exhausted his treasury, and that the money was dissipated which was to have been appropriated to the façade of S. Lorenzo. At the death of Leo this part of the building was not advanced beyond its foundation, and the time of Michael Angelo was consumed in making a road; in seeing that five marble columns were made at the quarry of Pietra Santa, in conducting them to the sea side, and in transporting one of them to Florence. This employment, with occasionally making some models in wax and clay, and some trifling designs for the interior of a room in the Medici Palace, appears to have been all the benefit that was derived from his talents during the whole of this pontificate. As the patronage of the Great may sometimes depend upon the docility of the person on whom it is bestowed, it has been supposed that the independent spirit

of Michael Angelo was ill calculated to conciliate the accomplished manners of Leo X.: however this may have been, no evidence appears that he ever refused submission to his will or opposed his authority with disrespect;* but without seeking for

* Upon this point I feel particular regret in differing from Mr. Roscoe who, in vindicating the conduct of the Pope, apologizes for Michael Angelo's perverseness of temper: "Genius resembles a proud steed, that, whilst he obeys the slightest touch of the kind hand of a master, revolts at the first indication of compulsion and of restraint. Every incident became a cause of contention between the artist and his patron. Michael Angelo preferred the marble of Carrara: the Pope directed him to open the quarries of Pietra Santa in the territories of Florence, the material of which was of a hard and intractable kind. The artist had called on the envoy of the Pope for a sum of money, and finding him engaged, had not only refused to wait for it, but when it was sent after him to Carrara, had rejected it with contempt. Under these discouraging circumstances the proposed building made but little progress. The ardour of the Pontiff was chilled by the cold reluctance of the artist." *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 226.

That Michael Angelo did not like to be employed in the quarries of Pietra Santa, to get marble but little adapted to his purpose when obtained, is very easily to be con-

other causes it is easy to conceive that Michael Angelo was not likely to have the favour of a prince, in whose mind there was no one point of resemblance to his own.

ceived ; but he obeyed. With respect to his contemptuous conduct towards the Pope's envoy, it does not appear that Michael Angelo refused to take the money sent after him to Carrara in any other way, than by refusing to give a receipt, which he said he was not accustomed to do when he received money for others as an agent ; and the person who was sent with it, fearing he might give offence by adhering too rigidly to his instructions, left the money without a receipt. " Intese Jacopo Salviati dello arrivo di Michel Angelo, e non lo trovando in Fiorenza gli mandò i mille scudi a Carrara. Voleva il mandato che gli facesse la ricevuta, al quale disse che erano per la spesa del Papa e non per interesse suo, che li riportasse, che non usava far quietanza nè ricevute per altri ; onde per tema colui ritornò senza a Jacopo." *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 233.

Although it should appear that Michael Angelo was not very well pleased with Salviati, yet in this transaction, the Pope does not seem to have borne any part, and probably never heard of the dispute between Michael Angelo and Salviati's servant, for he continued at Carrara executing the commissions for which he was sent, when he received a letter from Leo to go and examine the newly discovered quarries at Pietra Santa ; where, he afterwards, in obedience to the Pope, spent a great part of his time during his pontificate, notwithstanding it was

The attention of Leo to men of letters seems not at all to have overstepped the character of his times. Guicciardini had risen into fame and distinction without any assistance from the Medici family. The great Venetian general, Bartolommeo D'Alviano, who, amidst the tumults of war, and the incessant occupation of an active military profession, had the honour of patronizing three of the greatest Latin poets of modern times; Andrea Navagero,³ Girolamo Fracastoro⁴, and Giovanni

an employment the most adverse to his feelings. Leo not only kept him in this situation, doing nothing which could be of any service to himself or the State, but refused him permission to make a monument to honour the poet Dantè, which he voluntarily offered to execute free of expense, to be placed in S. Maria Nuova, in Florence.

³ Andrea Navagero was born of a patrician family at Venice, in the year 1483, and from his childhood gave indications of that extraordinary proficiency to which he afterwards attained.

⁴ Girolamo Fracastoro is supposed to have been born in the same year with Navagero, and his celebrated poem, entitled, "Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico," has long ranked him among the first poets of modern times.

Cotta^s; and Ferdinand king of Naples, and his unfortunate sons Alfonso and Federigo, have the fame of being the Patrons of Sanazzaro. Cardinal Bibbiena, the restorer of Italian Comedy, wrote his *Calendra* about the year 1480, thirty three years before the elevation of Leo X. yet, by modern writers, even this Cardinal is made to add to the splendor of his pontificate. Bembo and Castiliano, by their erudition and accomplishments had also contributed their share to the advancement of learning. Paulo Giovio was the Livy of Leo X. and was rewarded accordingly with a pension and with honours: but if this author should be found to merit the praise of ingenuity as a writer, he deserves the highest censure for the profligacy of his principles as an historian: he has even taken care to avow these principles himself; and this extract from one of his letters may serve to shew the character of his mind.—“ A history

^s The Poems of Cotta are printed in a scarce volume of the *Carmina V. illustrium Poetarum*, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Navagerii, Balth. Castilioni, Joannis Cottæ, et M. Ant. Flaminii. Ven. Valgrisi, 1548, 8°.

should be faithful, and matters of fact should not be trifled with, except by a certain latitude, which allows all writers, by ancient privilege, to aggravate or extenuate the faults of those on whom they treat; and, on the other hand, to elevate or depreciate their virtues. I should, indeed, be in a strange situation, if my friends and patrons owed me no obligation, when I make a piece of their own coin weigh one half more than that of the illiberal and worthless. You know by this sacred privilege, I have decorated some with rich brocade, and have deservedly wrapt up others in coarse dowlas. Woe to them who provoke my anger; for if they make me the mark for their arrows, I shall bring out my heavy artillery, and try who will have the worst of it. At all events they will die; and I shall at least escape, after death, that *ultima linea* of all controversies⁶." Several other passages might be cited from his letters, in which he openly acknowledges the venality of his

⁶ *Lettere*, p. 12. *ap. Trab.* vii. par. ii. p. 265.

writings, and accounts for his temporary silence, because he found no one to bribe him.' It is said that he boasted he had two pens, one of iron and the other of gold, which he made use of as occasion required; and it is certain that the latter, his *penna d'oro*, is frequently mentioned in his letters.* But the greatest blemish in his writings, and which has not sufficiently incurred the reprehension of his numerous critics, is the defective or perverted morality with which they abound.

Pietro Aretino, a man of detestable ingenuity, had also the good fortune to be rewarded by Leo X. with money to a princely amount. His indecent and abominable writings it would be as disgusting to examine, as it would be tiresome to peruse those long and tedious pieces on religious

* In a letter to Henry II. of France, he says, "Io ho già temperata la penna d'oro col finissimo inchiostro per scrivere in carte di lunga vita," &c. And in another to Giambattista Gastaldo, "Già ho temperata la penna d'oro per celebrare il valor vostro." *Lett.* p. 31. 35, *ap. Tirab.*

subjects, by which he most probably sought to counterbalance, in the public opinion, the profaneness of his other productions.* Such are the facts and the account given us of these two men by the biographer of Leo X.

That Leo was often more fortunate in his patronage it is sincerely to be hoped; and his encouragement of VIDA ought not to be forgotten, although we have no distinct knowledge how he advanced his reputation or his fortune. When he was introduced to the sovereign Pontiff by the bishop of Verona, he was received as an attendant on the court; and we are told by himself

* Of the abilities of Aretino, whether in prose or verse, whether sacred or profane, epic or dramatic, panegyric or satirical, notwithstanding their number and variety, not one piece exists, which, in point of literary merit, is entitled to approbation; yet the commendations he received from his contemporaries are beyond example; and by his unblushing effrontery, and the artful intermixture of censure and adulation, he contrived to lay under contribution almost all the sovereigns and eminent men of his time. *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*

that he became a favourite, and that he was crowned with wealth and with honours : ' we also learn from the same authority, that his *Christiad* was undertaken at the suggestion of Leo. Some doubt has been entertained respecting the motive which induced the Pope to engage him in this undertaking; as Sanazzaro was thought to be unfavourable to the fame of this Pontiff, it was suspected that Vida was only employed as his rival. The poem was not finished till after the death of Leo, and he appears to have been indebted for his reward, to Clement VII. who gave him the appointment of apostolic secretary, and afterwards promoted him to the bishopric of Alba. He died, however, at a very advanced age, infinitely more honoured for his talents and his virtue, than envied for the reward that accompanied them. The revenue of his bishopric was more contracted than his own charity and benevolence,

• “ —Leo jam carmina nostra

“ Ipse libens relegebat. Ego illi carus, et auctus

“ Muneribusque, opibusque, et honoribus insignitus.”

Vidæ, Parentum Manibus, in Op. vol. ii. p. 144.

and his days were ended in poverty. "I have seen," says Tiraboschi, "an inventory of the furniture found in his episcopal palace, by which it was very clear that he died exceedingly poor."¹ Vida was buried in the Cathedral of Alba, with this simple, but impressive epitaph on his tomb :

HIC SITUS EST M. HIERONYMUS VIDA.
CREMON. ALBÆ. EPISCOPUS.²

In the reign of Leo X. neither morals nor science make any conspicuous figure, and his frigid conduct towards his old friend Ariosto savours but little of that true feeling of a noble and liberal mind, which has been so largely attributed to his character. Soon after his accession to the pontificate Ariosto went to Rome, hoping at least to share those favours which were bestowed on others of inferior merit; but he was disappointed. Leo, upon his inter-

¹ *Storia della Litt. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 283.

² Here rests M. Jerom Vida of Cremona, Bishop of Alba.

view, recognized his old friend, kissed him on each cheek, and gave him assurances of his favour and esteem. His favour, however, extended no further than granting a bull to secure the copy-right of his *Orlando Furioso*, for which he paid the customary fees of office. His disappointment on this occasion is evident from many passages in his *Satires*; where he often adverts to his journey to Rome with the vexation of a man who felt neglect, but with a mind superior to its evils; and his epistolary satire to Annibale Maleguccio, deserves to be recorded as an admirable example of the justness of his feelings, and the power of expressing them without acrimony. "Some persons may perhaps observe, that if I had gone to Rome in quest of benefices, I ought before now to have obtained my wishes; especially as I had long been in favour with the Pope, and was ranked amongst his ancient friends, before his virtue and his good fortune had exalted him to his high dignity. When he was driven from Florence and took refuge at the Court of Urbino, I contributed my share with

Castilione and Bembo to alleviate the hardships of his exile. Whilst he was Legate, often he told me that he should make no difference between his brother and myself; and when he went to Rome to take the name of Leo he preserved his attachment to me. Under these circumstances, it may appear strange to some, that when I paid him a visit at the Vatican he should have humbled me; but to those I shall reply by a short story.

‘ There was once a season in which the earth was so parched with heat, that it seemed as if Phœbus had again relinquished the reins to Phaëton. Every well and every spring was dry. Brooks and streams, nay even the most celebrated rivers, might be crossed without a bridge. In these times there lived a shepherd, I know not whether to call him rich, or incumbered with herds and flocks, who having long sought for water in vain, turned his prayers toward that Being who never deserts those who trust in him; and by divine favour he was instructed, that at the bottom of a certain

valley, he would find the welcome aid. He immediately departed with his wife, his children, and all his cattle; and according to his expectation found the spring. The well was not, however, very deep; and having only a small vessel to dispense the water, he desired his followers not to take it amiss if he secured the first draught for himself.—The next is for my wife, and the third and fourth for my dear children, till all their thirst be quenched.—Then he distributes to such of his friends as assisted in opening the well. He then attends to his cattle, taking care to supply those first whose death would occasion him the greatest loss. Under these regulations they pass on, one after another, to drink. At length a poor parrot, which was very much beloved by its master, cried out, Alas! I am neither one of your relations, nor did I assist in digging the well; nor am I likely to be of more service to you in future than I have been in time past. Others, I observe, are still behind me; but even I shall die with thirst if I cannot elsewhere obtain relief.’

“ With this story, my good cousin, you may dismiss those who think that the Pope should have preferred me before the *Neri*, the *Vanni*, the *Lotti*, and the *Baci*, his nephews and relations, who must drink first; and afterwards, those who have assisted in investing him with the richest of all mantles. When these are satisfied, he will favour those who espoused his cause against Soderini, on his return to Florence. One person will say, I was with Piero in Casentino, and narrowly escaped being taken and killed. I, cries Brandino, lent him money. He lived, exclaimed a third, a whole year at my expense, whilst I furnished him with arms, with clothes, with money, and with horses. If I wait until all these are satisfied, I shall certainly either perish with thirst, or see the well exhausted.”³

That such a man should endeavour to obliterate the recollection of Ariosto's friendship by cold and distant civility ought to create no surprise, when it is considered that the Duke of Urbino himself, to whom

³ *Ariosto*, Satire iv.

he was indebted for an asylum, was the first to experience his ingratitude; and in return for kindness which it would have been difficult to repay, he availed himself of the first opportunity to dispossess him of his dominions.

After these remarks it might be difficult to conceive by what qualities Leo X. was rendered illustrious; but his character by Guicciardini, who cannot be suspected of any disposition to dishonour his name, is sufficient to account for his popularity.—“ He was a man of the greatest liberality, if it be proper to give that name to a profuseness in expense which surpassed all bounds. After his assumption of the pontificate, he, with a truly royal spirit, conducted himself with such magnificence and splendour, as would have been surprising even in one who had descended from a long line of kings and emperors. Nor was he only profuse of money, but of all favours that are at the disposal of a Pope, which he bestowed so immeasurably that he brought the spiritual

authority into contempt, and disordered the economy of the court. To a remarkable easiness of manner he added a most *profound dissimulation*, with which he circumvented every one in the beginning of his pontificate, and thus passed for a very good prince, I dare not say of an apostolical goodness; for in our corrupt times, the goodness of a pontiff is commended when he does not surpass the wickedness of other men; but he was reputed merciful, of most courtly manners, and studious of not giving offence to any one.”⁴

Such is the summary account of his character by Guicciardini; from whose immortal history it is easy to perceive, that in the various transactions in which Leo X. was concerned, his morality was subservient to his pleasures; and the fine arts were patronized only as an appendage to his grandeur. He was courteous and magnificent to the great sovereigns of Europe, and

⁴ *Guicciardini Historiæ d'Italia*, lib. xvi. p. 480. Ed. Venetia M.D.LXXIII.

faithless to those princes who were unable to contend with his duplicity: to aggrandise the house of Medici every subtlety was employed and every means were exhausted; and with all his claims to our admiration it would be difficult to concede to him any of those virtues which ought to be inseparable from the names of illustrious princes.

Upon the death of Leo, which happened December 2d. 1521,^{*} Cardinal di Tortoso was chosen to fill the papal chair, by the title of Adrian VI. The façade of S. Lorenzo was now altogether laid aside, and Michael Angelo employed himself upon two statues originally intended for the monument of Julius, and which probably he now proposed to adapt to the new design. Having been interrupted during the whole reign of Leo X. from prosecuting the monument, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, nephew to Julius II. was impatient, and insisted

^{*} Leo X. was buried in Rome in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

that he should account for sixteen thousand crowns supposed to have been received in the pontificate of his uncle, and petitioned Adrian to cite him to Rome to refund that sum, or give a satisfactory account of its expenditure. Michael Angelo was desirous to make out the account in Florence, but the Duke insisted upon his coming to Rome, and the Pope issued his mandate to that effect; but the Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, who at that time held the government of Florence, objected to the citation, and assured his Holiness that he would be responsible for a just accommodation of the dispute. Giuliano, who had a higher value for the talents of Michael Angelo than his cousin Leo, commissioned him at this time to build a library and new sacristy to the church of S. Lorenzo, to serve as a mausoleum for the Medici family; and also to execute monuments to the memory of the Dukes Giuliano and Lorenzo, to be placed in it; which he stated to the Pope as his reason for detaining him in Florence. These works took up the whole of Michael Angelo's time during

the pontificate of Adrian, whose reign, to the gratification the College of Cardinals, was but of short duration. This Pope was elected through accident⁶, and no sooner chosen than the electors repented. He had never seen Italy, and was hardly known by name; so that, without lamentation for his loss, he died on the 14th of September, 1523, after a reign of only twenty months. With his predecessor Religion was used as an engine, to terrify the world into obedience, and to seize the possessions which belonged to others; but Adrian was a scholar and a theologian, and instead of the principles of Machiavelli, he studied the works of the Fathers; so that in a court of dissipation he had no friends, and by those who valued political intrigue he was considered as a *barbarian*. His high office he never made subservient to personal ostentation or family aggrandizement, which in purer times would have been a virtue, but in the successor of Leo X. such qualities served only to stamp his character with meanness and

⁶ *Guicciardini Hist. d' Italia*, lib. xiv. p. 420.

unprincely parsimony. Thus, in temporal affairs, he who lives in an æra unsuited to his virtues, is more depreciated than he who conforms to the vices of his age.

Adrian was succeeded by Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, by the title of Clement VII. who having a personal interest in appropriating the abilities of Michael Angelo to himself, prevented him from completing the monument of Julius in order that he might proceed with the work which he had begun at S. Lorenzo in Florence. The Duke of Urbino felt himself highly dissatisfied; and Michael Angelo went to Rome to advise with the Pope what line of conduct he might be permitted to pursue. With respect to the supposed sixteen thousand crowns in question, if a fair balance were made he stated that he should be a creditor rather than a debtor, and therefore he was ready to meet the question in any way most agreeable to his Holiness. The Pope advised him to see the Duke's agents, and make a fair exposition of all the circumstances of the case; anticipating

that if it were ascertained that no surplus of money remained in his hands, they would not be anxious about the completion of the work. The unfortunate state of the affairs of Italy, and the difficulty in which he was involved between his own inclination and the necessity of complying with the commands of the Pope, made his stay in Rome peculiarly embarrassing.

The celebrated battle of Pavia, which gave an alarming ascendancy to the wide and extending power of Charles V. perplexed the governments of Italy to preserve their independence. The Pope, with secret and complicated views, was not less impressed with the pending danger than the surrounding States, but from this time his artifices to disperse the gathering storm only brought the nearer prospect of his own ruin, till he himself was made a prisoner, and his capital sacked by the licentious soldiery of the Duke of Bourbon.*

* The battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner, was fought on the 25th of February, 1525.

Rome was sacked, and the Duke of Bourbon, who

In this anxious state of public affairs, Michael Angelo preferred Florence to Rome, and without making any definite arrangement with the agents of the Duke of Urbino, he proceeded with his works in architecture and sculpture for the chapel and library of S. Lorenzo. About this time he executed a statue of Christ, of the size of nature, to be placed on an altar in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, in Rome.^s

From the year 1512, when the Gonfaloniere Soderini was driven from his situation at the head of the Republic, Florence and

commanded the army, was killed before the Castle of St. Angelo, on the 6th of May, 1527. There is a good portrait of Charles Duke of Bourbon, Count Montpensier, Great Constable of France, painted by Titian, at the seat of Lord La Zouche at Parham Park in Sussex. This portrait was brought into England by Thomas Earl of Arundel, and originally belonged to his collection. At the bottom of the Picture is this apophthegm painted in black letters, OMNIS SALUS IN FERRO EST.

^s This Statue is now in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva; not placed on an altar, but on a pedestal at the entrance of the choir. ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. IV.

its dependencies became subject to the Medici family. This city had risen into importance from the constitution of its government, and grown rich by the profits of trade. Its wealth and power therefore made it an object of importance to Leo X. to direct its counsels and dispose of its resources to his own advantage, and, during his short reign, it contributed no less than two millions of ducats to enable this ambitious Pontiff to seize on the neighbouring States, and act the part of a splendid sovereign, with a view to the aggrandisement of his house and the future establishment of his family on a throne.

Florence for fifteen years had reluctantly yielded to the necessity of the times. From the death of Lorenzo the distinguished title bestowed upon his grand-father, of *Pater Patriæ*, could not, with the shadow of propriety, be extended to any of his successors.

Clement VII. by the indiscretion of his measures, and the duplicity of his conduct,

made himself despised by his enemies, and but little respected by his friends. No sooner was the Ecclesiastical State a prey to a foreign enemy than his adherents in Tuscany were weakened and diminished, and his Legate, seeing no prospect of being reimbursed in the expenses which were necessary to maintain his authority, resigned it into the hands of the citizens. Thus, on the 16th of May, 1527, Florence resumed its ancient form of government, and Nicolo Capponi, a man of high consideration and attached to the constitution of his country, was chosen Gonfaloniere.

The dangers to which Italy was at this time exposed by the preponderancy of the Emperor Charles V. prompted the Venetians, the Dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino, to unite in the interest of France and England, to oppose the progress of his power; and, at the particular solicitation of the Duke of Ferrara, Florence joined in the confederacy. From the 6th of May 1527, till the 9th of December of the same year, the Pope was kept a close prisoner in

the castle of St. Angelo, during which time the Florentines had nothing to fear from his influence; but he was no sooner at liberty than the recovery of Florence was the first object of his ambition. In the vicissitude of war, and the fluctuation of political interests, he kept his eye steadily on that object; and though by his shifting management he was despised and detested, yet his friendship became necessary, as the advantages of war became more doubtful to the contending parties: The Emperor, at this time considered his alliance as of importance to his future plans, and offered him such terms as were readily accepted; and a treaty was concluded at Barcelona, on the 5th of August, 1529, in which, among other articles, the Emperor engaged to guarantee the sovereignty of Florence to the Pope, for Alessandro de' Medici, his great nephew, and to make it hereditary in his family.

The Republic now saw its approaching ruin, and it was through France alone, to whose interest it had been constantly

attached, that it could hope to ward off the impending blow. But Francis I. though with the warmest assurances of friendship to the Florentines, found it expedient to enter into an accommodation with the Emperor; and in a treaty at Cambray, concluded at the same time with that of Barcelona, Florence was left to take care of itself. Under these circumstances the Magistrates of the Republic endeavoured to negotiate with Charles V. and offered to put themselves under his protection; but it was too late; the Republic was sold; and it was only for the Emperor to fulfil his contract.

The Gonfaloniere Capponi, previous to this cloudy prospect of affairs, entered into a private correspondence with the Pope to palliate the approaching evil, yet, without relaxing any measures which were necessary for the defence of Florence. The city was ordered to be completely fortified, and in every respect to be put in the best state of resistance and defence, and Michael Angelo was appointed military architect and master

of the ordnance. The correspondence between the Gonfaloniere and Clement VII. was soon discovered by his enemies; and in the enthusiasm of democracy, and the jealousy inseparable from the republican form of government, he was immediately accused of treachery. The citizens rose in arms, seized upon the government palace, convened the magistrates, and put Capponi under an arrest. He was afterwards tried and honourably acquitted; nevertheless, he was superseded by one Francesco Carduci, who neither for virtue nor ability was worthy of so great an honour, or so important a trust.

At this time the city of Ferrara was considered to be the best fortified town in Italy, and the Duke Alfonso to be eminent for his abilities in that branch of knowledge. Michael Angelo was therefore advised to make him a visit previous to his commencing the fortification of Florence, in order to avail himself of his experience. He approved of the measure, and embraced the opportunity. When he

arrived at Ferrara the Duke received him with the utmost courtesy, and shewed him every part of the works, and gave him every information in his power: he shewed him also his private collection of works of art; and when Michael Angelo was about to take his departure, he facetiously said, "You are now my prisoner, and if you wish to have your liberty, you must make me a promise to let me have something of your own hand, either in sculpture or painting." To this flattering request he willingly acceded, and on his return, notwithstanding his time was much taken up in the fortification of the city, he began a picture of Jupiter and Leda, including the birth of Castor and Pollux, which was afterwards finished, but from some cause not satisfactorily explained, it was not sent to Ferrara, but into France, where it was purchased by Francis I.⁹

When the treaty of Barcelona was concluded, the Emperor gave orders to the

⁹ ILLUSTRATIONS, PAINTING, No. II.

The reason why Michael Angelo refused to send

Prince of Orange, at the Pope's desire, to attack the Florentine State. The Prince was then employed in reviewing the army on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and, on receiving this order, he repaired to Rome to make the necessary arrangements. The forces under his command consisted of three thousand German, and four thousand Italian infantry; and the Marquis del Guasto, who commanded the Spanish troops in Puglia, was afterwards to join him. On the 19th of August the Prince arrived with his army at Terni and Foligno, the place of their rendezvous, and proceeded immediately to besiege Spelle; which, though capable of making a good defence,

this picture to the Duke of Ferrara, for whom it was painted, is thus stated by Vasari and Condivi, which seems to be entitled to no higher credit than is due to an idle story adopted from common report. "The Duke on sending one of his gentlemen to Florence, to enquire what Michael Angelo had painted for him, being shewn the picture, exclaimed, *Oh! questa e una poca cosa*. This speech so much offended Michael Angelo that he turned the gentleman out of his house, and told him to tell his master he should not have the picture at all, for sending such an ignorant messenger."

disgracefully surrendered without resistance. Perugia, garrisoned by Florentine troops, and commanded by Malatesta Baglioni, was the next point of attack; but Malatesta was of doubtful fidelity, and the Republic considered it more prudent to withdraw their garrison, than to reinforce it. This city therefore fell into the hands of the enemy with little opposition, and the troops were marched to Cortona. Thus the military operations of the enemy were rapidly brought to the confines of the Florentine territory.

The war now advancing with little interruption towards Florence itself, the government by making propositions and entering into a negotiation with the Emperor and the Pope, exercised the utmost skill to retard the march of the enemy, that time might be obtained to fortify the city. In addition to the works already projected, Michael Angelo proposed to construct a fortification on a height which commanded Florence and the surrounding country, called Monte San Miniato: he satisfactorily proved that, if this

post should be possessed by the enemy, it would be of the most serious disadvantage, and as a citadel, might be of the utmost importance to themselves: his plan was approved, and he immediately carried it into effect. The Florentines failed in their attempt to gain the advantage they had proposed to themselves from negotiation, and the Prince of Orange advanced to Cortona. In the first assault he was repulsed; but, from the city not being sufficiently defended, and from the desire the Republic had to concentrate their military force, it surrendered on the 17th of September; and Arezzo, from the same reason, capitulated in two days afterwards.

The Emperor now openly avowed that he would no longer give audience to the Florentine ambassadors unless the Medici family was restored. Upon this occasion the Prince of Orange declared to them, that he detested the covetous ambition of the Pope, and the injustice of the enterprise, and lamented that his duty as a

soldier compelled him to act in direct opposition to his feelings.'

He was at the head of ten thousand five hundred infantry, composed of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and eight hundred cavalry, but wanted artillery; he therefore applied to the Sanese to accommodate him with ordnance. This request they had no inclination to grant, but were in no condition to refuse; thus being without an alternative, they met the difficulty by using a discreet procrastination, which was their only means of alleviating the evil.

The Florentine deputies who were refused an audience with the Emperor, were received by the Pope, but without any satisfactory result: to their solicitation, which had for its object to avert the approaching evils of the war, and the calamities of a siege, he answered; that he had no design to make

* " — Et Oranges, benchè con gli Oratori che erano appresso a lui, detestasse senza rispetto la cupidità del Papa, e la ingiustitia di quella impresa."

any change in the liberty of the city; but was compelled to undertake the enterprise, not from any injury he had received from the Republic, nor as a measure of self-defence, but solely to fulfil an engagement he had been under the necessity of making with the Emperor; and that his honour being now interested in prosecuting the undertaking, he demanded that they would voluntarily put themselves in his power; and then he would demonstrate how much he had at heart the happiness of their common country.²

The Prince of Orange still advanced, and

² “ Haveva intrattanto il Papa udito gli Oratori Fiorentini et risposto loro, che la intentione sua, non era d’alterare la libertà della Città, ma che non tanto per le ingiurie ricevute da quel Governo, et dalla necessità d’assicurare lo Stato suo, quanto per la capitulatione fatta con Cesare era stato costretto a fare la impresa: nella quale trattandosi hora dell’ interesse dell’ honore suo; non chiedeva altro, se non che liberamente si rimettessero in potestà sua, et che fatto questo, dimostrerebbe il buon animo ch’aveva al beneficio della patria comune.” *Guicciardini His. d’Italia*, lib. xix. tom. ii. p. 98.

on the 24th of September was in the Vale of Arno, only eight miles from Florence, where he halted for the arrival of the ordnance from Siena, which began to move on the ninth; but the same tardiness which delayed their preparation impeded their progress, and it was not until the 20th of October that the artillery joined the army, and arrived in the plain of Ripoli, two miles from Florence. These slow movements gave Michael Angelo an opportunity to finish the fortification, and to put the city in a complete state of defence. When the enemy was at Feghine and Ancisa on the 27th of September, the council and magistracy of ten, appointed to manage the affairs of the war, were unanimously of opinion that it would be most prudent to send a *carte blanche* to Rome to submit themselves to the will of the Pope; but the Gonfaloniere, with the supreme magistracy, without whose consent the resolution could have no validity, thought otherwise, and being supported by the popular influence, the measure was laid aside. The officers

now adjudging the fortification to be sufficiently strong to resist the attack of the enemy, all inclination to agreement with his Holiness ceased.

On the 24th of October, the Prince of Orange encamped on the hills surrounding the city, and his first operation was to throw up a rampart and to storm the bastion of S. Miniato; but his plan was frustrated by the measures Michael Angelo had previously taken for its defence. Besides cannon planted in the garden of the convent, he placed two large guns on the top of a bell-tower which commanded the intrenchments, and so completely annoyed the enemy, that their intention to storm the bastion was soon given up, and their artillery was directed to demolish the tower. Michael Angelo, however, adopted an effectual measure for its preservation; from the top, he hung mattresses of wool on the side exposed to the attack, and by means of a bold projecting cornice from which these mattresses were suspended, a considerable space was left between them and the wall;

this plan he effected in the night, and the subsequent cannonading of the enemy only served to shew the advantage of this simple expedient. The Prince of Orange being thus foiled, he proceeded to dismount the guns on the top of the bell-tower, but this mode of attack was not more successful; he now began to consider the siege of Florence as an undertaking that would require more exertion of military skill than he at first anticipated.

The Emperor and the Pope at this time met at Bologna; and as the siege of Florence was likely to be obstinately contested, his Holiness interested himself to produce a peace between the Duke of Milan, the Republic of Venice, and Charles V.; and on the 23d of December, 1529, an amicable adjustment took place between these parties: thus after eight years warfare, Italy, with the exception of the Florentine State, was restored to tranquillity.

The Emperor having withdrawn his troops from the Venetian territory, sent

seven thousand three hundred infantry, and three hundred light cavalry, with twenty-five pieces of artillery, to reinforce the Prince of Orange before the walls of Florence. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, he wanted either skill or courage to make an assault upon the city; and the Florentines, not judging it prudent to hazard a general battle, the siege was converted into little else than a blockade. The Florentines, though unassisted by any ally, had sufficient resources to hold out for many months, and they hoped, that time might effect, what they were unable to accomplish for themselves; for the army of the enemy being composed of discordant materials, they calculated on the operation of conflicting interests to dissolve the confederacy; but their own army, unfortunately, was not exempt from this liability to dissolution. Their troops were composed, though not of different nations, of separate States, and the Generals who sold their services, watched only for the opportunity to make their honour subservient to their interest.

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Napoleone Orsini, who received pay from the Republic for his services, began to consider that more might be gained by making a timely arrangement with the Emperor, than by being faithful to his engagement with the Florentines; and Malatesta Baglioni, who was Captain General, had also two objects in view, one, to receive the pay of the Republic for his own troops; and the other, to gain the sovereignty of Perugia. To obtain this last object was his constant aim, and for that end, he privately negotiated with the Pope, and is supposed to have betrayed the counsels of the Republic.

Michael Angelo, after the most active service for six months, in which he defended the city and repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy, was secretly told of treacherous plans to subvert the Republic. He lost no time in making the communication to the government, shewing at once the danger to which they were exposed, and how their safety might be provided for; but instead of attending to him with due respect, he was reproached with

credulous timidity: offended with this treatment, he observed that it was useless for him to be taking care of the walls, if the government was determined not to take care of itself. Depending upon the correctness of his information, and the strength of his own judgment, he saw inevitable ruin to the common cause; and after being repeatedly treated with personal disrespect he determined to give up his employment and withdraw from the city. As the nature of his information did not allow him to make a public declaration of his intention, he withdrew privately; nevertheless his departure created general concern. Upon his leaving Florence he proceeded to Ferrara,³ and from thence to Venice; where,

³ Upon this occasion the following anecdote has been recorded by Vasari. When Michael Angelo privately withdrew from Florence, he took with him Antonio Mini, his scholar and assistant, and one Piloto, a goldsmith, each wearing a mantle lined or quilted with money. As soon as they arrived at Ferrara they were obliged to give in their names to the officer of police; in consequence of which, the Duke Alfonso became acquainted with Michael Angelo's arrival. The Duke, who was a great

as soon as he arrived, he was followed by the importunities of persons high in office, to return, and not abandon the post which had been assigned to him ; and concessions at the same time were made for the disrespect with which he had been treated. These solicitations had the desired effect, and without delay he returned and resumed his situation.

lover of works of art, was delighted with this unexpected visit, and immediately sent one of the principal officers of his court to invite him to his palace. As he was thus discovered, it was useless to make apologies, and he went immediately. His highness received him with the most marked attention, but accused him of being shy and distant; he entreated him to stay at Ferrara, where the most honourable provision should be made for him in his own palace. This honour he declined; the Duke then invited him to stay during the war, which he also declined, but that he might not be outdone in courtesy, he said to the Duke, I have brought twelve thousand crowns to Ferrara (pointing to the mantles worn by his two companions) which are at the service of your Highness.

After some conversation upon various subjects, the Duke shewed him every thing in his palace worthy of his attention. Michael Angelo then retired to the inn; upon which his Highness gave his orders to the Host, that every possible attention might be shewn to his guests, and that they might not be charged with any expense.

At the end of the year the Pope shewed a desire to negotiate, and sent the Bishop of Faenza to Florence for that purpose. Upon this overture the Republic sent deputies to his Holiness and the Emperor, but with express orders to listen to no proposition which could have for its object any change in the government or diminution of the authority of the magistrates; from these preliminaries, the negotiation with the Pope was no sooner commenced than concluded, neither, having any inclination to yield to the other the sole object of the war. By the Emperor they were refused an audience, and without any hope of pacification they returned.

The failure of this attempt demonstrating to the Republic the impracticability of making any peace but through the medium of successful war; all the general officers convened themselves in the church of St. Nicholas to swear to defend the city till the last extremity; and after Mass, took the oath in the presence of their Captain General; Napoleone Orsini making the only

exception, upon which he quitted the service. The troops, which consisted of nine or ten thousand within the walls, were attached to the cause, and without intermission discharged their duty with readiness and fidelity.

Until the 21st of March, 1530, Florence suffered no injury from the besiegers, except the inconvenience of an imperfect blockade. The Prince of Orange, impatient with delay, and having less confidence in the measures he was pursuing, began to make active preparations to take the city by storm. After a severe skirmish, in which considerable loss was sustained, he made a vigorous attempt to effect a breach in the walls; but Michael Angelo so well provided against his hostile means, that after exerting all his resources, he found it prudent to retire. On the 9th of May another skirmish took place, in which the Florentines lost one hundred and thirty men killed and wounded, and the besiegers above two hundred, among whom was a Spanish general. Malatesta Baglioni and Stefano Colonna, at the head of three

thousand foot, afterwards made an unsuccessful attack upon the Germans fortified in their intrenchments. In this sally Stefano Colonna performed his part, and was wounded in the action : but not being supported by the Captain General, who was accused of cowardice or treachery, the enterprise failed.

The King of France, who from time to time, promised the Florentines all the assistance in his power, consistent with the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed with respect to the Emperor, at length was enabled to manifest his sincerity, or the want of it. Francis I. and Henry VIII. of England wished to detach the Pope from the interest of Charles V. ; to obtain this object it was necessary to gain some share of his favour and esteem, and any measures which could accelerate the accomplishment of his favourite object were sure of success. Francis, therefore, wished that the Florentines would negotiate a peace with his Holiness ; or in other words, acknowledge the sovereignty of the Medici family : from this

proposition it was clear, that all the expectation of aid from the King of France was now at an end, and their prospect of successful resistance, dark and doubtful. A scarcity of provisions increased, and every means of relief was cut off by the besieging enemy; yet the spirit of the people was not depressed, nor their perseverance relaxed. They still kept possession of Pisa with a body of troops under the command of Francesco Ferruccio, an officer of great bravery and unquestionable fidelity.

In a case of desperate necessity it is prudent to adopt desperate measures. The Florentines therefore sent orders to Ferruccio to assemble his troops, leave Pisa, and make the best of his way to Florence, to enable them to hazard a general battle. What the result of this event might have been, if one common interest had equally animated and directed all, it would be rash to determine; the strength of men is not in proportion to their numbers, but to their devotion to their country.

The Florentines were unfortunate in the choice of their Captain General; he was known to hold an intimate correspondence with the Prince of Orange, and to intrigue with the court of Rome; upon this occasion, there is every reason to believe, that he communicated the plans of the government to the enemy, and gave assurances to the Prince that he would not attack the remainder of his troops if he were disposed to intercept Ferruccio. Be this as it may, the Prince drew off his army, and put himself on the march, with correct information; and in the mountains of Pistoia, not far from Pisa, the two armies met, and the conflict, equally honourable to the bravery of both, determined the fate of Florence. The Prince, who rather performed the duty of a private soldier than a general, was killed in the action; but by the superiority of his military force his army obtained the victory. Ferruccio was made prisoner, and put to death by the barbarity of the Imperial General. Thus the last hope of the Republic was eclipsed.

Deserted, and beaten, and with the inevitable prospect of famine before them, the government was persuaded, that it was yet better to find a common grave, than to yield to the cruelty and oppression of the Pope, and his great nephew Alexander de' Medici, one of the most worthless of men. Malatesta Baglioni however was of a different opinion; not from any higher sense of virtue, but because he consulted his own personal advantage, and the interest of the Pope, who had long given him secret assurances of the sovereignty of Perugia.*

This declaration of hostility to the government produced the greatest distraction; Baglioni received his orders of dismissal, and was commanded to withdraw; but he possessed too much military power to be controlled by the civil authority; he drew his dagger upon the deputation charged with the commission, wounded one, and

* *Vide Guicciardini*, lib. xix. p. 97. Ed. Venetia. MDCXXIII.

would have killed him on the spot, had he not been fortunately rescued by the attendants who were present. By this act of violence he manifested his power, and made it sufficiently evident, that the authority no longer resided with the Gonfaloniere and the magistrates, but with himself, as Captain-General of the army. Thus, the city being at his disposal, and the work of dissimulation at an end, on the 9th of August, four persons were nominated to enter into a treaty of capitulation with Don Ferrando da Gonzaga, who succeeded the Prince of Orange as commander in chief of the Imperial army: on the next day the convention was concluded. Among the principal articles, it was agreed that the Pope and the Florentines should concede to the Emperor the authority to declare within three months their form of government with a useless clause to preserve their liberty; that there should be a general amnesty for all injuries to the Pope, his friends, and servants; and until the will of the Emperor should be known, Malatesta Baglioni should remain with two

thousand foot to garrison the city. Anxious, however, to receive the reward of his services, he immediately organized the government as it existed before the year 1527, and gave up the sovereignty to the Pope, who in return permitted him to leave Florence, and take possession of Perugia. Here ended the Florentine Republic, after three centuries of varied and fluctuating fortune; yet in this same Republic, amidst civil dissensions and external war, genius flourished; and, to this small territory, civilized Europe owes more than to all the States that assisted in its ruin.⁵

The most ardent wishes of the Pope being accomplished, it was reasonable to expect, that he would have scrupulously fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty: but neither honour nor christianity influenced his mind; he was actuated by a vindictive

⁵ In the year 1532, Alessandro de'Medici was placed at the head of the government, with the title of Doge; and his authority was soon afterwards strengthened by his marriage with Margaretta of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V.

spirit, and adopted only the semblance of justice, cloaked under a mean and disgraceful subterfuge. The general amnesty to all those who had injured the Pope, his friends, and servants, his Holiness professed most faithfully to observe; but the injuries committed by the same persons, in the affairs of the Republic, he knew of no mercy to meliorate, or kindness to forgive; he therefore under this pretence put to death, imprisoned, and banished all those whom he either feared or hated.*

Michael Angelo, knowing his character, immediately on the surrender of the city left his own house, and hid himself in an obscure retreat by the assistance of a friend, to whom alone the knowledge of his seclusion was intrusted.⁷ And his

* *Guicciardini*, lib. xx. p. 106.

⁷ Upon this occasion Condivi says, that “*Michelagnolo temendo di quel che seguitava, se n’era fuggito in casa d’un suo grande amico.*” Vasari repeats the same words; but Bottari, in a note in his edition of that author, says that it was commonly believed he was secreted in the bell-tower of the church of S. Nicolas; and this was the opinion of the Senator Philip Buonarroti,

precaution was not ill founded ; for the Pope had no sooner taken possession of the City than his house was diligently searched ; not a recess of any kind escaped, nor was a trunk left unopened that could be supposed capable of containing him. After several days, when all search was ineffectual, his Holiness expressly wrote to Florence, offering Michael Angelo, by a public manifesto, the most positive assurances that if he would discover himself he should not be molested, on condition that he would finish the two monuments in St. Lorenzo which he had already begun. As the condition seemed to offer some security for the performance of the amnesty, he accepted the terms and returned to his house to pursue the employment which was prescribed to him.

These monuments record the names of

“ E' fama, che Michel Angelo stessee nascoso nel campanile di San Nicolo oltre Arno, ed io l' ho sentito dire anche dal Senatore Filippo Buonarroti ; che aveva raccolte tutte le memorie della sua Casa, e particolarmente di Michel Angelo.” Tom. ii, p. 244.

Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo X. and their nephew Lorenzo. Their statues are seated in Roman military habits ; and with corresponding designs on their sarcophagi, are four recumbent figures, emblematically personifying Morning, and Evening, and Day, and Night.*

In the same sacristy is a statue of a Madonna, with an infant Christ in her arms, also by Michael Angelo, a composition of great elegance and simplicity.†

Tranquillity being restored to Italy, Michael Angelo was again called upon by the Duke of Urbino to complete the monument of Julius II. agreeably to the last design. No circumstance in his life was attended with more sincere regret and mortification than this delay, but Leo X. and Clement VII. successively prevented the accomplishment of that object, and the Pope now sent for him to Rome to make such an arrangement as might be favourable to his own

* ILL. SCULPTURE, V. VI. † ILL. SCULPTURE, VII

plans ; being anxious to employ him in Florence. The Duke of Urbino was given to understand, that Michael Angelo retained a considerable sum of money in his hands, which had been received from his uncle Julius ; but upon investigation this proved to be a mistake. All the sums received at various times did not amount to one third of what was agreed to be paid by the Cardinals Aginense, and Santi Quattro, according to the contract made after the death of the Pope Julius. Clement VII. being desirous to annul this contract, considered the result of this enquiry as particularly favourable to his views ; he therefore instructed Michael Angelo to tell the agents of the Duke, that he was ready to finish the monument, but that he must know who was to pay for it.' This circumstance not having been calculated upon, from the previous opinion entertained of his having received more than sufficient for its completion, produced some deliberation ; after considering, however, it was determined that he should make a monument

¹ *Condivi*, sect. xlviii.

for the money in hand^a, and instead of its being insulated, it should be a façade, and the marble already provided should be employed in the best manner, to that end ; with an obligation, on his part, to make six statues himself ; it was also further agreed, that he might work for the Pope in Florence four months in the year, where he was then building the sacristy, and library, of St. Lorenzo.

When this arrangement was concluded, he went to Florence to accommodate the Pope, and after staying four months he returned to Rome to fulfil his engagement with the Duke of Urbino ; but Clement VII. determined it otherwise, and ordered him to paint the two end walls of the Sistine Chapel. Under any other circumstances,

^a *Condivi*, speaking of this transaction, says, “ Michael Angelo has by him a receipt signed by a notary, for the money he received after the death of Pope Julius, from the two Cardinals his executors ; sent by Bernardo Bini, the banker, in Florence, who paid it to him ; and which, perhaps, may have amounted to three thousand ducats.” *Condivi*, § lii.

Michael Angelo, would have been happy to advance that great work, which the liberal patronage of Julius II. had so magnificently projected; but at this time, his engagement with the Duke of Urbino was paramount to every other consideration.

After he had finished the ceiling in the pontificate of Julius, he made several studies for the west end of the chapel, where he proposed to have painted the Fall of Satan. Whether in the original design of the whole work he intended the Day of Judgment to have occupied the opposite end, is not certain; but this subject was now determined upon to fill that space.³ Michael Angelo being unable openly to oppose the will of the Pope, procrastinated the work as much as possible; and while he was making the cartoon of the Last Judgment, he secretly employed as much of his time as circumstances would allow, to forward the monument of Julius II.

On the 25th of September, 1534, Cle-

³ *Condivi*, sect. xlix.

ment VII. died, whose eventful reign was more chequered with adversity than that of any prince of modern times. Guicciardini, who has recorded his actions with the partiality of a friendly historian, has left this portrait of him in a few words. "He was rather morose and disagreeable, than of a pleasant and affable temper; reputed avaricious; hardly to be trusted, and naturally averse from doing a kindness; very grave and circumspect in his actions; much master of himself, and of great capacity, if timidity had not frequently corrupted his judgment."⁴

To the vacant chair of St. Peter, Alessandro Farnese, Dean of the sacred College, was elected on the same day the Cardinals entered the Conclave, and proclaimed Pope by the title of Paul III.⁵ As soon as he was elected he sent for Michael Angelo to engage him in his service; but

⁴ *Guicciardini*, lib. xx. Clement vii. was Bishop of Worcester previous to his being advanced to the Pontificate.

⁵ He was elected the 12th of October, 1534.

he declined the honour, being fearful lest he might be diverted from fulfilling his engagement with the Duke of Urbino; at the same time he stated the circumstances of his contract. His Holiness grew angry, and said, "What I have been desirous of doing these thirty years, now that I am Pope, I cannot accomplish.—Where is this contract? I'll tear it." Michael Angelo explained; and having already suffered so much from the importunity and even threats of the Duke of Urbino, he was now determined not to yield, or change the direction of his pursuit. Some time before the death of Clement VII. he had serious thoughts of residing in Urbino, and employed a person to purchase a house for him, and a small estate in that dutchy, that he might retire there; but fearing the power of the Pope, he hesitated. This restraint, for several years, was a source of embarrassment and vexation to him; a letter from his friend, the celebrated Annibale Caro, to Antonio Gallo, at Urbino, upon this subject, is not without its interest.

To ANTONIO GALLO.

“ I DID not answer your letter on Saturday, expecting the publication of the *Life of Michael Angelo*, of which I spoke to you, written by one of his scholars,* in which the affair of the monument is mentioned, and his conduct justified. You will see what he says, and if it should appear that there is enough to support his cause, have the goodness to submit it to his excellency, with any thing more that you may think necessary to be added, and with the respect due to such a prince as the Duke of Urbino. But I will not ground his cause entirely upon its justice, as in strictness he might be found fault with in many particulars: the instances his excellency has alleged against him to you, are just, and perhaps, in part, cannot be replied to; I would therefore ask such pardon and remission, as would become the great to offer to men of genius, such as Michael

* The work here alluded to is not known: from various circumstances Condivi could not be the author referred to.

Angelo. Although the Popes prevented his finishing the monument he engaged to execute, he ought to make another: his error I am ready to allow to a certain degree, which he also admits. As he is willing to take up his residence in the Duchy of Urbino, the Duke might gain him over to himself, and by preserving him as much as possible, be a benefactor to our age; and I am confident to be in disgrace with his excellency impresses him with great concern, and might alone be the occasion of shortening his days. Exclusive of the reasons that might be alleged in his favour, I entreat his pardon on another ground; that his lordship may have the honour of exercising that noble generosity which he displays on all occasions, and thus be the means of prolonging the life of this singular man, and at once render the greatest consolation to Michael Angelo, and attach him to himself for ever: which appears to me no trifling acquisition, as he possesses a robust old age, and may yet produce works worthy of posterity.

“ My commiseration for an old man, and my desire that his excellency should gain this credit, has induced me thus to express myself: what remains I submit to your generosity and your prudence. For the kindness you have shewn in this affair, as well as your goodness towards me in all my own concerns, I give you my most sincere thanks; and though I feel my own inability to make a return, I entreat you to give me an opportunity to render you my services.—

“ As to the death of the unfortunate Duke Orazio, besides the grief I feel for his loss, God only knows how much it is increased by my compassion for the excellent lady, your dutchess; and if you should think my condolence not an intrusion, I beg you would communicate my sorrow, and sympathize in the bitterness of her affliction; and may the consolation of Divine Providence be added to yours and to mine. Every blessing attend you.

ANNIBALE CARO.”

Rome, Aug. 20, 1535.¹

¹ *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. iii. xci. The letter in the

The Duke having been irritated, and Paul III. equally intractable, Michael Angelo determined, upon leaving Rome, to take up his residence in Genoa, at an abbey belonging to his particular friend the Bishop of Aleria, so commodiously situated, that marble might be easily brought to him by sea from the quarries of Carrara. Whether the Pope knew of this arrangement is not certain, but within a few days, he made him a visit at his house, accompanied by ten cardinals, and Michael Angelo shewed him the Cartoons for the Last Judgment, the sculpture prepared for

work here cited, is dated 1553, which I suspect to be a mistake of the press for 1535, as the monument was completed in the pontificate of Paul III.

Vasari, in the first edition of his work, published in 1550, says that the statue of Moses, which makes a part of this monument, was so much admired by the Jews, when it was set up, that on Saturdays they flocked in crowds to see it, and to adore it as a divine work. “ Et seguitino gli Hebrei di andar’ come fanno ogni sabato, a schiera et maschi et femmine come gli storni a visitarlo et adorarlo ; che non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno. Questa sepoltura, e’ poi stata scoperta al tempo di Paulo III. e finita col mero della liberalità di Francesco Maria Duca d’ Urbino.” Tom. ii. p. 961.

the monument, and such other studies as happened to be in his house. The Cardinal de Mantova, on seeing the statue of Moses, executed for the original design, exclaimed, "This statue alone is enough to honour the tomb of Julius!" After the Pope had seen every thing, and bestowed the highest praise upon his works, he renewed his request. Michael Angelo however retreated from his solicitation. The Cardinal de Mantova, feeling the cause of this reluctance, said, he would engage for the Duke of Urbino, to be satisfied with three statues from his own hand, instead of six, and the other three, to be executed by any sculptor he might appoint. This gave rise to a new engagement with the Duke, who not being willing to disoblige the Pope, acceded to this fourth agreement, which fortunately was the last; and after changing the design three times, the work was completed without further interruption, and Michael Angelo continued in Rome.

The monument was not afterwards placed

* *Condivi*, § li.

in St. Peter's as originally intended, but in the church of S. Pietro in Vincolo, which gave to Julius his nominal title to the purple, before he was invested with the honours of the tiara. The monument consists of seven statues, including the statue of the Pope himself, who is represented lying on a sarcophagus: below which, in recesses, are the three figures executed by Michael Angelo. In the middle, the celebrated statue of Moses; and on the two sides, in niches, two female figures, personifying Religion, and Virtue. Over the sarcophagus, in three niches, are the statues of a Prophet, a Sibyl, and a Madonna with an infant Christ in her arms, executed by a sculptor of the name of Raffaello da Monte Lupo;* the figure of

* The following letter by Michael Angelo to his bankers, Messrs. Silvestro and Co., serves to authenticate his engagement with Raffaello da Monte Lupo.

To M. SILVESTRO DA MONTAUTO AND Co.

“FOR the payment for the three statues of marble executed by Raffaello da Monte Lupo, there yet remain one hundred and seventy crowns in money, of ten giuli

the Pope on the sarcophagus was made by a person whom Vasari calls Maso dal Bosco :* these are all composed with ornamental architecture, in a bad taste. No part exists of the original composition but

each. When these three statues, which are larger than nature, representing a Prophet, a Sibyl, and a Madonna with an infant in her arms, shall be completed and placed in the church of S. Pietro in Vincolo, making a part of the monument of Julius II. you may pay him at his pleasure for his final discharge, the before mentioned sum of one hundred and seventy crowns, as he will then have fulfilled all the conditions of his engagement.

Your's,

Rome.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

The whole sum Raffaello da Monte Lupo received for the part of this Monument which he executed, was one thousand five hundred and eighty ducats.

* Maso dal Bosco is supposed to be Maso Boscoli, of Fiesole, a scholar of Andria Contucci, and who executed many works in Rome, in Florence, and in other places: *Vide Vasari Vita del Contucci, e Abecedario Pittorico.* The statue of the Madonna over the figure of Julius, Vasari says, was executed by one Selerano da Settignano, after Michael Angelo's model; but from the letter just cited, it is most probable that Vasari was misinformed.

the statue of Moses:² two figures were executed for it, in the Pontificate of Julius II. and four others begun; but none of them were used in the present design: they represent slaves, or prisoners, as Vasari calls them, and were to have surrounded the base of the original Mausoleum.³

As there now remained no objection to Michael Angelo's devoting his time to the service of the Pope, he commenced painting the great work of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel. According to Vasari the Cartoon was begun about nine months before the death of Clement VII.⁴ from

² There are several prints of this monument: the earliest I have seen, was published in Rome, by Antonio Salamanca, in the year 1554. See ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. XI.

³ The two figures which were finished, are now in Paris, in the Musée des Monumens Français; the other four, in their rude and imperfect state, support the roof of a grotto in the Boboli Gardens in Florence. ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, No. XII. XIII.

⁴ Pend a condurre quest' opera otto anni, e la scoperse l'anno 1541 (credo io) il giorno di Natale. *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 259.

a letter still existing, written by Michael Angelo to Pietro Aretino, it would appear that he had not entirely finished the composition in the year 1537, two years after the decease of that Pontiff, although he was then painting it in fresco.

To PIETRO ARETINO.

“MAGNIFICENT Messer Pietro, my lord and brother, your letter, which I have received, has given me both pleasure and pain at the same time: it gave me pleasure, because it came from you, whom I esteem unique in virtù; and pain, that I had finished the greater part of my composition, and could not adopt your ideas of the Day of Judgment, which are so well conceived, that had the event taken place, and yourself been present, you could not have described it better.

“Now, to answer you with respect to writing about me, I am not only pleased with it, but I beg you to do it, since Kings and Emperors are gratified in being noticed by

your pen. In this case, if I have any thing that can be of service to you, I offer it with all my heart. Finally, do not put yourself to any inconvenience to come to Rome for the sake of seeing the picture I am about, as that would be buying the gratification at more than it is worth. Farewell."

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

The letter of Aretino to which this is an answer, is replete with extravagant praise. Though Princes bowed before him, yet he professes to approach Michael Angelo with reverence; "since the world has only one Michael Angelo;"^s to the vastness of whose powers he makes Nature yield, and declares, that those who have seen him, have no reason to regret that they have not seen Phidias, Apelles, and Vitruvius, whose spirits were only as his shadow. With respect to the Last Judgment; he expatiates largely upon what the subject is capable of; and observes, that if the work from his

^s "Il mondo ha molti re, ed un solo Michael Angelo."

hand produces fear and trembling, how much greater will be the trepidation when the scene itself shall be realized.*

Whatever may have been the precise date of the commencement of this picture, it was completed in the year 1541, and the Chapel opened on Christmas day. Persons are described to have come from the most distant parts of Italy to see it, and the Public and the Court were rivals in admiration. This was peculiarly gratifying to Michael Angelo, more especially, as the Pope, in the first year of his pontificate, had liberally provided him with a pension for his life of six hundred pounds a year, to enable him to prosecute the undertaking,† with all the skill and ability in his power.‡

* This letter is dated September 15, 1537. From a subsequent letter in the year 1546, addressed to Enea Vico, at Parma, recommending him to engrave the Last Judgment from a drawing by Bazzacco, Aretino seems to be offended at the display of naked figures throughout this composition, and is apprehensive lest this license might furnish scandal to the Lutherans. *Vide Lettere Pittoriche*, Tom. iii. Lett. xxii. lvii.

† Brief of Paul III. to Michael Angelo Buonarroti.

‡ Clement VII. our immediate predecessor of happy

The composition of this picture, in its general design, is conformable to the doc-

memory, wishing to remunerate you for the fresco picture representing the Last Judgment in our Chapel, in consideration of your labour and ability, which is an honour to our age, and the same being also our pleasure, we promised you, and do now promise by these presents, the annual rent of one thousand two hundred golden crowns during your life, the better to enable you to prosecute and finish the said work, which you have begun. With apostolic authority, and by virtue of these presents, we concede to you, during your life, the Pass of the Po at Piacenza, with the same emoluments, jurisdictions, honours, and employments, as were enjoyed during the lifetime of the late Gio. Francesco Burla, as one part of the said income, *i. e.* for six hundred golden crowns, which we understand to be the annual rent of the said Pass; our aforesaid promise remaining in force respecting the other six hundred crowns. And we command our Vice Legate of Cispadana Gallia, and all such as may in future hold that office; and also our dearly beloved the Governor of the aforesaid City of Piacenza, and to all others whom it may concern; that they give to you, or to any one you may appoint, the possession of the said Pass, and the exercise of its rights, in such a manner that you may maintain and peaceably enjoy this our grant during your life, against whatever cause may operate to the contrary.

“ Given in Rome, at St. Mark, September 1, 1535, in the first year of our pontificate.” *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. vi. p. 22.

From the words, ‘ in our chapel,’ contained in the

trines and tenets of the Christian faith. Angels are represented as sounding trumpets, the dead as rising from the grave and ascending to be judged by their Redeemer, who, accompanied by the Virgin Mary, stands surrounded by martyred saints. On his right and left are groups of both sexes, who, having passed their trial, are supposed to be admitted into eternal happiness. On the opposite side to the resurrection and ascension, are the condemned precipitated down to the regions of torment; and at the bottom is a fiend in a boat conducting them to the confines of perdition, where

Brief, there might be some doubt respecting the time, when this picture was actually begun; but the confusion arises from the picture and the cartoon being occasionally spoken of, as the same. By Condivi, however, we are clearly informed, that the painting in the chapel was not commenced until the pontificate of Paul III. “Ma tornando a Papa Paolo, dico, che dopo l’ultimo accordo fatto tra l’Eccellenza del Duca, e Michelagnolo, pigliandolo al suo servizio, volta che mettesse ad esecuzione quel ch’egli aveva cominciato al tempo di Clemente: e *gli fece dipingere* la facciata della Cappella di Sisto, la quale *egli aveva già arricciata, e serrata con assiti*, da terra infino alla volta.” § LIII.

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other fiends are ready to receive them. In two compartments at the top of the picture, made by the form of the vaulted ceiling, are groups of figures bearing the different insignia of the Passion.

Near to the Chapel of Sixtus, in the Vatican, Antonio da San Gallo built another by the order of Paul III. which in like manner is called after its founder, the Pauline Chapel; and the Pope, being solicitous to render it more honourable to his name, commissioned Michael Angelo to paint the walls in fresco. Although he now began to feel that he was an old man, he undertook the commission, and on the sides opposite to each other he painted two large pictures, representing the Conversion of St. Paul,^{*} and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. These pictures, he said, cost him great fatigue, and in their progress, he was obliged reluctantly to acknowledge that fresco painting was not an employment for his years;⁹

^{*} ILLUSTRATIONS, PAINTING. No. V, VI.

⁹ These pictures were not terminated till the year

he therefore petitioned his Holiness that Perino del Vaga might finish the ceiling from his designs ; which was to be decorated with painting and stucco ornaments ; but this part of the work was never executed.

His Holiness often consulted Michael Angelo as an architect, although Antonio da San Gallo was employed in his private concerns, and was the architect of St. Peter's, to which situation he was appointed by his interest when he was Cardinal Farnese. The Farnese palace in Rome was designed by San Gallo, but Michael Angelo constructed the bold projecting cornice that surrounds the top of the building at the express desire of the Pope. He also consulted Michael Angelo in fortifying the Borgo, and he made designs for that purpose ; but the discussion of this subject proved the cause of some enmity between him and San Gallo.¹

1549, when Michael Angelo was seventy-five years of age.
Vasari, tom. ii. p. 260.

¹ "Aveva Papa Paolo dato principio a fortificare Borgo,

In the year 1546, San Gallo died, and Michael Angelo was called upon to fill his situation as architect of St. Peter's. He at first declined that honour, but his Holiness laid his commands upon him; which admitted neither of apology nor excuse, and he accepted the appointment, but stipulated to receive no salary, and that

e condotto molti Signori con Antonio da Sangallo a questa dieta; dove volle che intervenisse ancora Michelagnolo, come quegli che sapeva che le fortificazioni fatte intorno al monte di San Miniato a Fiorenza erano state ordinate da lui; e dopo molte dispute, fu domandato del suo parere. Egli, che era d' opinione contraria al Sangallo e a molti altri, lo disse liberamente: dove il Sangallo gli disse, che era sua arte la scultura e pittura, non le fortificazioni. Rispose Michelagnolo che di quelle ne sapeva poco; ma che del fortificare, col pensiero che lungo tempo ci aveva avuto sopra, con la sperienza di quel che aveva fatto, gli pareva sapere più che non aveva saputo nè egli nè tutti que' di casa sua; mostrandogli in presenza di tutti che ci aveva fatto molti errori: e moltiplicando di quà e di là le parole, il Papa ebbe a por silenzio, e non andò disegnata tutta la fortificazione di Borgo, che aperse gli occhi a tutto quello che s' è ordinato e fatto poi; e fu cagione che il portone di Santo Spirito, che era vicino al fine, ordinato dal Sangallo, rimase imperfetto." *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 260.

it should be so expressed in the Patent, as he undertook the office purely from devotional feelings; and, as hitherto the various persons employed in all the subordinate situations in the building, had only considered their own interest to the extreme prejudice of the undertaking, he also made it a condition that he should be empowered to discharge them, and appoint others in their stead; and lastly, that he should be permitted to make whatever alteration he chose in San Gallo's design, or entirely supersede it if he were so disposed. To these conditions his Holiness agreed, and the patent was made out accordingly.²

The history of the building of St. Peter's has been treated at large by Bonanni, and his work makes it the less necessary for me to enter into any detail upon that subject.³ The

² *Vide Bonanni Templi Vaticani Historia*, p. 61.

³ Those who wish for more extensive information, will find the works of Ferrabosco, and Fontana, very interesting, and the *Memorie istoriche della gran Cupola*, by Sig. Marchese Gio. Poleni.

first stone was laid by Julius II. on the 18th of April, 1506, and Bramante was appointed sole architect. Upon his death, 1514, the appointment was conferred by Leo X. on Giuliano da San Gallo, Raffaello d'Urbino, and Giocondo da Verona. Giuliano being oppressed with age and infirmity, intreated that he might decline the employment, and he received permission to retire to Florence. Giocondo da Verona also quitted Rome soon after, and the whole charge devolved upon Raffaello. Antonio da San Gallo, the nephew of Giuliano, solicited the place of his uncle, not as chief architect, which seems originally to have been his appointment, but as an assistant to Raffaello : in this application he succeeded, and upon the death of Raffaello in 1520, the whole direction of the building was intrusted to his care. He laid aside the designs of his predecessors and substituted one more complicated ; and although the work advanced slowly for want of money, he made a model which of itself cost more than a thousand pounds sterling.*

* " This model was executed by one Antonio Labacco,

This model, in the multiplicity and division of its parts, being more conformable to the principles of Saracenic than of Grecian or Roman architecture, Michael Angelo applied himself to make an original design, upon a reduced scale, on the plan of a Greek cross'. This met with the Pope's approbation; for, although the dimensions of the church were less, the form was more grand than that of San Gallo's model. It appears, from a letter of Michael Angelo's still extant, that he had a high opinion of Bramante's general plan, and would most probably have adopted it, with little variation, if the difficulty of raising money had not made it necessary to contract the original size of the building to meet the exigences of the times. Clement VII. left some jewels in the treasury, but no money. The disaffection of Germany had considerably diminished the Papal revenue; and Henry VIII. of England, had also withdrawn his

of which the carpenters' work cost four thousand one hundred and eighty-four crowns." *Vasari Vita di Antonio da Sangallo*, vol. iii. p. 445.

ILLUSTRATIONS, ARCHITECTURE, No. I.

allegiance from the catholic church; in consequence of these defalcations Paul III. was desirous that such a plan might be adopted, as to leave a reasonable hope of its completion: with this view, though not from the failure of resources, but from the extravagance of their application, Leo X. in his reign, commissioned Peruzzi to make a design to be executed at a less expense than that which was originally made by Bramante.⁶

During the reign of Paul III. Michael Angelo was wholly employed in works of painting and architecture, except the time he was occupied in executing the two statues for the monument of Julius II.⁷ From the death of San Gallo the superintendence of St. Peter's was alone sufficient to occupy his time; besides the direct advancement of that stupendous fabric, he had much to undo, which was done by his

⁶ Vide *Vasari Vita di Baldassare Peruzzi*, tom. iii. p. 197, et *Bonanni Templi Vaticani Historia*, tab. 13.

⁷ According to Vasari, these two statues did not take up twelve months of his time, "Le quali statue condusse di sua mano Michelagnolo in meno di un anno."

predecessor, and to contend with a host of adverse interests. Agreeably to one of the conditions of the patent, he chose his own workmen, and dismissed those who had been formerly employed; for which he shared the fate of all reformers, to be maliciously spoken of, and constantly opposed.

The following letter, preserved in the family of Buonarroti, in Florence, will serve to shew the estimation in which Michael Angelo held the talents of Bramante: it also shews the amount of the work which had been executed by the order of his predecessor, which Michael Angelo desired to remove.

To M. BARTOLOMMEO.

“ I WILL not take upon me to deny that Bramante was as eminent an architect as any one that has appeared either in ancient or modern times. He laid the foundation of St. Peter’s, not with confused ideas, but with a clear and luminous mind. Its isolated situation is such as not at all to

injure or interfere with the palace, which was highly approved of when the design was made, and the advantages are now obvious to every one.

“ He who departs from the design of Bramante as San Gallo has done, must depart from fundamental principles; which is evident if the model be seen with impartiality. In the first place, the circle San Gallo designed on the outside takes away all the light from Bramante’s plan, which of itself, in this respect, is so deficient, that the recesses above and beneath the choirs are in total darkness, affording a secure retreat for assassins, and hiding-places for thieves and vagrants of every description, so that at the close of the evening, when the church is to be shut, it would require five and twenty persons to hunt them out, and even then it might be attended with difficulty. There would be likewise this inconvenience in surrounding Bramante’s design with this circle of San Gallo: the Pauline Chapel,⁸ the Stanza del

⁸ The Pauline Chapel built by Paul III.

Piombo,' the Rota,' and many other places must necessarily be destroyed, nor do I think that the Sistine Chapel would entirely escape. Respecting the cost of what is already done, it is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand crowns ; that however cannot be true, because it might have been done for sixty thousand ; and if it were now to be taken down little loss would be incurred, as the foundations and materials could be very advantageously employed, and the building would then be two hundred crowns better, and acquire three hundred years of additional stability.

“ This is my impartial and unprejudiced opinion, for in gaining a victory I shall be a great loser. If you will make this communication to his Holiness I shall be obliged to you, as I do not feel myself well.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

’ The chamber where the seals, which are of lead, were affixed to the Pope’s bulls.

’ Where the auditors of the Rota met.

Notwithstanding many impediments, the building of St. Peter's was advanced with considerable rapidity, for the Pope entertained the highest opinion of Michael Angelo's abilities, and had implicit confidence in his integrity. This great undertaking, which might reasonably be supposed to be more than sufficient for the attention of an old man, was however only a part of his extensive engagements. He was commissioned to carry on the building of the Farnese Palace left unfinished by the death of San Gallo; and employed to build the Senatorial palace on the Capitoline Hill, and two galleries for the reception of Sculpture and Pictures: he also ornamented this celebrated site with antique statues and relics of antiquity, which had been from time to time, dug up, and discovered in Rome, and its environs.

These buildings on the Capitoline Hill form the three sides of a square, and the principal entrance on the fourth is defined by balustrades, and ornamented with statues and fragments of antiquity. In the

centre of the square, placed on a pedestal, is the celebrated bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius.² Michael Angelo also made a flight of steps to lead up to the church of the Convent of the Araceli, situated on the highest part of the hill, where anciently stood the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and where there are now some columns supposed to have made a part of that celebrated building. It was in this church that the bare-footed Franciscans were singing vespers, when Gibbon, musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, first thought of writing the decline and fall of Rome.

As men are generally malevolent in proportion to the disappointment of their mischievous hopes, so the enemies of Michael Angelo grew more inveterate from the ill success of their opposition, and used their

* This equestrian statue originally stood before the Temple of M. A. Antonius, and Faustina, in the Forum. It was discovered in the pontificate of Sixtus IV. and then placed before the church of St. Gio. in Laterano, and from this situation it was removed by Michael Angelo to ornament the Capitol..

utmost exertion to ruin his reputation. Upon the death of Paul III.³ an effort was made to remove him from his situation; but Julius III.⁴ who succeeded to the pontificate, was not less favourably disposed towards him than his predecessor; however, they presented a memorial petitioning the Pope to hold a committee of architects in St. Peter's, to convince his Holiness that their accusations and complaints were not unfounded. At the head of this party were Cardinal Salviati, nephew to Leo X. and Cardinal Marcello Cervino, who was afterwards Pope by the title of Marcellus II. Julius agreed to the investigation, Michael Angelo was formally cited, and the Pope gave his personal attendance. The Cardinals said, that the church wanted light, and among other causes which occasioned this defect they stated that he had erected a wall in the front of a recess designed for three cha-

³ Paul III. died on the 10th of November, 1549, after a pontificate of fifteen years and twenty-eight days. Among the most remarkable acts of his reign, are the excommunication of Henry VIII., the establishment of the Jesuits, and the Convention of the celebrated Council of Trent.

⁴ Julius III. was elected on the 9th of February, 1550.

pels, and had made only three insufficient windows; upon which the Pope asked Michael Angelo to give his reasons for having done so: he replied, "I should wish, first, to hear the deputies." Cardinal Marcello immediately said, for himself, and Cardinal Salviati, "We ourselves are the deputies." Then, said Michael Angelo, "In the part of the church alluded to, over those windows are to be placed three others." "You never said that before," replied the Cardinal: to which he answered with some warmth, "I am not, neither will I ever be, obliged to tell your Eminence, or any one else, what I ought or intend to do; it is your office to see that money be provided, to take care of the thieves, and to leave the building of St. Peter's to me." Turning to the Pope—"Holy Father, you see what I gain: if these machinations to which I am exposed are not for my spiritual welfare, I lose both my labour and my time." The Pope replied, putting his hands upon his shoulders, "Do no tdoubt, your gain is now, and will be hereafter;" and gave him assurance of his confidence and esteem.

The Pope prosecuted no work in architecture or sculpture without consulting Michael Angelo. What was done in the Vatican, or in his Villa on the Flaminian Way, called, La Vigna di Papa Giulio, was with his advice and superintendence; he also made the Pope a design for a palace to be built adjoining to the church of St. Rocco; but it was not carried into execution, and the drawings are lost.⁵

⁵ Michael Angelo at this time was consulted about building a chapel in S. Pietro Montorio, to receive two monuments for Cardinal di Monte, the uncle of Julius III. and Messer Fabbiano, his grandfather. The commission for those monuments, as well as the building of the chapel, was given to Vasari; but Michael Angelo was referred to, to determine the price, and to recommend sculptors to execute the models in marble.

Vasari being much employed in Florence by the Grand Duke Cosmo I. in his absence from Rome, Michael Angelo negotiated the business, and the two following letters were written by him, to Vasari, upon that subject.

“ MY DEAR GIORGIO,

“ CONCERNING the building of the chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio, as the Pope will not trouble himself about it, I did not write to you; knowing that you were informed of what was doing by your agent.

Among the numerous avocations which occupied the attention of Michael Angelo in the pontificate of Paul III. he was em-

Now, I have occasion to tell you what follows. Yesterday morning the Pope having gone to Montorio, he sent for me; and I met him on the bridge, as he was returning. I had a long conversation with him about the intended monuments, and at last he said to me, he was resolved not to have them put there, but to be placed in the church de' Fiorentini; asking me what I thought of that plan? I said, that I approved of it much; reflecting, that from this circumstance the church itself would stand a chance of being finished. For your three letters which I have received, I have no pen to answer them with such high compliments; but if I could hope in any degree to be worthy of them, it were only that you might have a friend worthy of such commendation. But I am not surprised, as you raise men from the dead, that you should lengthen life to the living, or consign the worthless to eternal death; to make short, such as I am, I am entirely yours.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Rome, Aug. 1, 1550.

"MY DEAR GIORGIO,

"IMMEDIATELY that Bartolommeo arrived here I went to the Pope, and perceiving that he was determined to rebuild the chapel in Montorio for the monuments, I provided him with a mason from St. Peter's.

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ployed to rebuild a bridge over the Tiber, where the Pons Palatinus anciently stood. Of this bridge he built a considerable part, and provided all the materials, but the faction which was not able to remove him from his situation in St. Peter's, now used their influence to take this commission out of his hands, not by finding fault, but by praising his great abilities, and commiserating his old age; and from a kindness that proceeds from wishing better to ourselves than our friends, they were desirous to relieve him from this charge. As this hypocrisy was managed with some artifice, and Michael Angelo but little disposed to contend with his

M. Busybody * knew it, and, after his way, was desirous of sending one of his own choosing. Not to contend with him, who gives motion to the winds, I drew back; for being a man but of little weight, I was willing to keep free from blame. However, it appears to me, that the church de' Fiorentini is not to be thought of any more. Nothing more occurs at present; farewell, and return soon.

October, 13, 1550. MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

* This person was Pier Giovanni Aliotti, Groom of the Stole to Paul III. afterwards Bishop of Forli, and is always mentioned by Michael Angelo, by the epithet *Tantecose*.

enemies, he receded, and the completion of the bridge was given to one Nanni di Baccia Bigio, a man wholly incompetent to the undertaking; and in five years it was washed away by a flood, agreeably to Michael Angelo's prediction, and from that time it has remained a ruin; and is at this day called *Ponte Rotto*.

Of the numerous friends and patrons of Michael Angelo, no one was ever more attached to him than Julius III. but as the character of this Pope, in the opinion of Michael Angelo, was exceptionable, he kept himself somewhat at a distance, but at the same time behaved with that deference towards him which was likely to be the best security for his respect and esteem. Condivi, who was particularly patronized by this Pope, says, "I am sorry; and it is also a subject of regret to his Holiness, that Michael Angelo, from a certain natural timidity, or we may say, respect or reverence, which some call pride, does not avail himself of the Pope's liberality, which is so

much at his command;⁶ though his Holiness was used to say, that if it were possible, he would most willingly take upon himself his years, that the world might have a better chance, of not being so soon deprived of so great a man; in the beginning of his pontificate he told him, at a public audience, that if he died before himself he should be embalmed and kept in his own palace, that his body might be as permanent as his works.”⁷

⁶ § lviii.

⁷ It was at the particular desire of this Pope that Condivi wrote a life of Michael Angelo, published in the third year of his pontificate, to which he prefixed the following Dedication :

DEDICATION TO POPE JULIUS III.

“ I SHOULD not dare, unworthy servant, and of so humble fortune as I am, to appear before your Holiness, if my unworthiness had not been previously dispensed with when you were pleased to invite me into your presence, and encourage me with expressions that gave me confidence, and hope, above my condition, or my merit; by which I feel myself to be more than I am, and have followed my studies and the discipline of my beloved master with so much fervour, encouraged by your Holiness, that I have been able to perform works with a hope

In the year 1555, this Pope died, after a short reign of five years ;* and perhaps it would have been happier for Michael Angelo if he had also ended his days at the same time, for he was now eighty-one years

of gathering fruit, which, if not known to futurity, may perhaps merit the grace and favour of your Holiness, and make me worthy of considering myself a servant and disciple of Michael Angelo Buonarroti; the one the Prince of Christianity, the other the Prince of the Arts of Design. And to give your Holiness an humble essay of what your benignity has produced in me ; as I have dedicated my soul and my devotion for ever to your Holiness, so will I dedicate, from time to time, all the works that I may produce ; and this especially of the Life of Michael Angelo, presuming that it may be acceptable, *since the virtue and the excellence of this man your Holiness has recommended me to imitate.* This is as much as is needful for me to say of him. To us greater things remain than we have derived, which shall be published for the establishment of the arts and their utmost refinement, and for the glory of your Holiness, who patronises and protects both arts and artists. In the meantime I supplicate to offer this my first work to your Holiness, with which I humbly bow to your most holy feet.

“ Most unworthy servant,

“ ASCANIO CONDIVI.”

* Julius III. died on 23d of March, 1555.

of age, and although several years yet remained to him, those years were chequered with vexation and trouble.

Cosmo I. Grand Duke of Tuscany, frequently solicited his return to Florence to superintend his public works, and direct the completion of those which were begun in the reign of Clement VII. By his desire he was now also employed in Rome, to build a church for the Florentines, the designs of which had been submitted to his Excellency on a former occasion, with the following letter.

To COSMO I. DUKE of FLORENCE.

“ Most illustrious Lord and Duke of Florence,

“ THE Florentines, who had the greatest desire to build a church in Rome to be dedicated to St. George, now, under the auspices of your Lordship, having greater hope of fulfilling that desire, have resolved upon the undertaking, and

appointed a committee of five persons to carry it into effect, who have several times applied to me for a design ; but knowing that Pope Leo X. had begun the church, I answered them, that I could not attend to their solicitation without the permission of the Duke of Florence. Having now received your Lordship's gracious letter, which I consider as an express command to attend to this building, I shall do it with the greatest pleasure. I have already made several designs,* among which the committee has chosen one, which I will send to you, and will execute it if it meets with your Lordship's approbation.

* Michael Angelo made five designs for this church, and a person of the name of Tiberio, a young architect, made a correct drawing of the one which was approved, and afterwards, a model in wood was made under Michael Angelo's inspection. This model Bottari remembers to have seen in a room belonging to the church of S. Giorgio de' Fiorentini, although much injured ; but at the time he published his edition of Vasari (1760) it was no longer in existence, and he says, it was believed to have been burnt by the priests. There is a print of the plan of this church, though not commonly to be met with. *N. dell' Ed. di Roma.*

“ It grieves me that I am far advanced in life, and that I so much feel the effects of old age as not to promise myself much in this edifice; but I will do for your Lordship, with a most willing mind, all the little that I can.

&c. &c. &c.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

Cosmo being solicitous that the Laurentian Library should be finished, sent a person of the name of Tribolo to solicit Michel Angelo's services in Florence; but the church of St. Peter's was an object that too much occupied his attention to permit him to leave Rome. The Duke then desired Vasari to obtain information from him how the materials, already hewn, might be applied to their original purpose; to which application Michael Angelo replied:

“ MY DEAR GIORGIO,

“ If I could recollect the original design of the staircase of the library, of

which so much has been said, believe me, I should require no intreaty to do it. A certain staircase I do indeed remember as a dream, but I do not believe I can at all recollect how it was originally intended, because, what now occurs to me concerning it, is, that it was an ill judged thing. However, I will do my best to recall it to my mind. I took a quantity of cases of an oval shape, each one palm deep, but not of one width or length, and the largest was placed on the pavement at an equal distance from the door and the wall; the height of the step was discretionary, another was placed upon this so much less every way, that from the first you might ascend as gradually as you pleased, each diminishing and receding up to the door; a part of this oval staircase on each side, had, as it were, two wings, with steps of the same gradation but not oval, that the middle might serve for *il Signore*, and the return of the wings curved to the wall. From the division or landing-place halfway up, the staircase was to detach itself from the wall about three palms, so that the floor might

not be broken in upon, and every side remain free. I am afraid my description is only fit to be laughed at, nevertheless you may perhaps find in it something to your purpose. ¹

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Rome, Sept. 28, 1555.

Cardinal Marcello being chosen Pope in the room of Julius III. all hope ceased of Michael Angelo's being continued as the architect of St. Peter's: the Duke, therefore, immediately renewed his invitation: and wrote a letter to Michael Angelo, and sent it to Rome by one of the officers of his household. While he was now meditating upon the step most prudent for him to take, very unexpectedly Pope Marcellus died;² and soon after Paul IV. being

¹ See a plan, elevation, and sections, of this Library, given by Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi, published in Florence 1739, in folio, entitled, *La Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana Architettura di Michelagnolo Bonarroti.*

² Marcellus was elected on the 9th of April, 1555, and died on the 30th of the same month.

elected,³ Michael Angelo was requested to continue in his office ; he therefore wrote to the Duke to excuse himself, and at the same time sent this letter to Vasari, who was then at Florence.

“ MY DEAR GIORGIO.

“ I CALL God to witness how contrary it was to my inclination ten years ago⁴ to undertake the building of St. Peter's, forced upon me by Pope Paul III. Yet if the work had been continued from that time until now with the same earnestness as it was then going on, the fabric would have been made what now I should have had pleasure in returning to ; but for the want of money it advanced very slowly, and still more so as the parts were laborious and difficult to execute ; so that to abandon the undertaking now, would not only be in the highest degree disgraceful, but the loss o

³ Paul IV. was elected on the 21st of May, 1555.

⁴ San Gallo died in October 1546. This letter was consequently written in the year 1556.

my labour, which I have prosecuted with religious zeal for these ten years past. Thus much, in answer to your letter. I have also received one from the Duke, giving me an unexpected pleasure by his condescension and politeness; for which I return his Highness all the thanks I am able to bestow. I perceive that I depart from my subject, but I have lost my memory, and it is both difficult and troublesome to me, to write, for it is not my art. The conclusion however is this, to make you understand what will necessarily follow from my giving up St. Peter's and quitting my residence here: in the first place, it would gratify a nest of thieves, the building would stand a chance of being ruined, and besides, I myself perhaps may be shut up in a prison for the remainder of my life.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONABROTI."

In the course of Michael Angelo's correspondence with the Grand Duke and his

agents, he gave his Excellency to understand that he should be happy to return to Florence, at a favourable opportunity, when he could leave his weighty engagement in Rome with safety to the care of others. But in momentous occupations, the day of repose is fallacious and often recedes as we approach. The Duke made his calculations agreeably to his own wishes, and his hopes; and as they were not realized, he expressed his dissatisfaction to the Senator Buonarroti; upon which, Michael Angelo wrote this letter to explain the misunderstanding.

To MESSER LIONARDO BUONARROTI.

“ I WOULD prefer death rather than be in disgrace with the Duke. In all my affairs I have constantly endeavoured to adhere to the truth; and if I have delayed coming to Florence as I promised, I have always meant that it should be understood with this condition; that I should not depart from hence till I had so far advanced the

fabric of St. Peter's as to prevent its being spoiled by others, my composition from being altered, or an opportunity left for those thieves to return and plunder, as they have been accustomed to do, and as they still expect. Being placed in this situation by Divine Providence, I have used my utmost diligence to prevent these evils. I have not yet, however, been able to succeed in advancing the building to that point which I desire, for the want of money and men, and being old, and not having any one to whose care I could intrust the undertaking, I am unwilling to abandon it; as I serve for the love of God, in whom is all my hope.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Rome, July 1, 1557.

The high respect the Duke had for Michael Angelo's talents, and consideration for the circumstances in which he was placed, diminished the effects of his disappointment; and he was permitted to continue in Rome to fulfil the duties of his

office, to which he had been appointed by Paul IV.

This Pope commenced his pontificate with two determined objects in view: to be revenged on his enemies by the sword, and to reform the church with the scourge of the Inquisition, re-established through his influence in the reign of Paul III. Implacable hatred rankled in his heart against the Viceroy of Naples for having suspended him from the exercise of his functions as Archbishop of Brundisium, in consequence of his political interference in favour of France. Against Spain he was inveterate from the injury his family sustained in the sackage of Rome in the year 1527. These were his predominant feelings, and the arts made no part of his consideration. The building of St. Peter's proceeded as a work of course, and Michael Angelo continued in his situation, as necessary to its advancement; but as war had been previously determined upon, to strengthen the fortifications of Rome was an object of more

immediate importance, which was intrusted to Salusti Peruzzi.

With a hope of uniting the kingdom of Naples to the State of the Church, and punishing the Viceroy, the Pope immediately declared himself hostile to the Spanish government, protesting against the legality of its claim to *oppress* the Neapolitans, whom he excited to rebellion; and subsidized France to second his views. Michael Angelo knowing enough of the consequences of war, and being but little disposed to co-operate, or to be inconvenienced by its effects; while the French troops were in the Ecclesiastical State, he sought retirement for a short time in a monastery in the mountains of Spoleto.⁵

On his return to Rome he principally

⁵ In this retirement he received a book presented to him by Messer Cosimo Bartoli through the hands of Vasari, to whom he wrote a letter of thanks after his return to Rome, which shews his regret at leaving his monastic friends.

employed himself on a group of Sculpture, which he meditated for an Altar-piece, to

“ MY DEAR GIORGIO,

“ I HAVE received M. Cosimo's little book,* and in this I inclose a letter of thanks, which I will trouble you to deliver, with my respects.

I have lately been put to great inconvenience and expense, but I have likewise had a great deal of pleasure in visiting the Monks in the mountains of Spoleto: indeed though I am now returned to Rome, I have left the better half of myself with them; for in these troublesome times, to say the truth, there is no happiness but in such retirement. I have nothing more to tell you, but that I am glad you have good health, and that you enjoy it. Farewell.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

.. September 18, 1556.

* This book was entitled, *Defesa della lingua Fiorentina et di Dantè, con le regole di far bella e numerosa la prosa*. It is principally, a defence of Dantè and the Florentine language, as expressed in the title, against certain criticisms of Bembo, Bernardino, Tomitano, and others. It was begun by Lenzoni, and finished by Pier Francesco Giambullari, and, in consequence of his death, left to Cosimo Bartoli to print, who published the work in 4to, 1556, dedicated to Cosmo I.

Cosimo Bartoli was an author himself, and published a work with this title, *Ragionamenti Academici, di Cosimo Bartoli Gentiluomo et Academico Fiorentino*, 4to. 1567. He also translated into Italian the second book of Leon Battista Alberti, “ De Pictura,” and other works.

O

honour the chapel which should be the place of his own interment. The subject was a dead Christ taken down from the Cross, and supported by the Virgin Mary, assisted by Nicodemus and Mary Magdalen. This group for many years was the employment of his leisure hours ; but the marble was unfavourable for his purpose, and he at length grew impatient, and laid it aside: the group, however, in its unfinished and imperfect state, is preserved in the Cathedral of Florence.*

To assist Michael Angelo in the great work of St. Peter's, Paul IV. took into his service Pirro Ligorio, an architect better known by his designs and the books he published on architecture, than by the buildings he constructed. This person was no sooner employed, than he began to alter Michael Angelo's plans, and adopt his own; treating him as an old man in his second child-

He was a particular friend of Michael Angelo, and in his *Ragionamenti*, he speaks of him as a genius "supernatural and divine," p. 19, 36.

* ILLUSTRATIONS, SCULPTURE, XIV.

hood, no longer worthy to be consulted. This impertinence, added to the vexation Michael Angelo continually experienced from the faction, which was constantly endeavouring to remove him from his situation, so disgusted him, that he was determined to be relieved from his coadjutor, or resign; he therefore immediately made a representation to the Pope, requesting to know which of the two architects his Holiness preferred; upon which Ligorio was dismissed. In this advanced period of his life, the only desire he had to continue in his situation was to establish his design beyond the possibility of change. This letter to Vasari is expressive of his feelings on that subject.

To VASARI.

“ IT is the will of God that I still continue to be; and I know that I shall be justly called foolish and out of my mind for making sonnets; but as many say I am in my second childhood, I am willing to employ myself agreeably to my state. By yours, I feel conscious of the love you bear me,

therefore I wish you to know, that it is my filial desire to rest these my feeble bones by the side of those of my father, and I pray you to see that it be done.

“ For me to leave this place would be the cause of ruin to the church of St. Peter, which would be a great pity, and a greater sin ; as I hope to establish it beyond the possibility of changing the design, I could wish, first, to accomplish that end ; if I do not already commit a crime by disappointing the many cormorants who are in daily expectation to get rid of me.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

SONNET.

“ Well-nigh the voyage now is overpast
And my frail bark, through troubled seas and rude,
Draws near that common haven where at last
Of every action, be it evil or good,
Must due account be rendered. Well I know
How vain will then appear that favoured art
Sole Idol long, and Monarch of my heart,
For all is vain that man desires below.

And now remorseful thoughts the past upbraid,
 And fear of twofold death my soul alarms,
 That which must come, and that beyond the grave;
 Picture and Sculpture lose their feeble charms,
 And to that Love Divine I turn for aid
 Who from the Cross extends his arms to save.”¹

Southey.

About this time Paul IV. died,² which was a source of tumultuous joy to the Roman people, and to Michael Angelo of

“ Giunto è già 'l corso della vita mia
 Con tempestoso mar per fragil barca
 Al comun porto, ov' à render si varca
 Giusta ragion d' ogn' opra trista, e pia.

“ Onde l' affettuosa fantasia,
 Che l' arte si fece idolo, e monarca
 Conosco ben quant' era d' error carica;
 Ch' errore è ciò che l' huom quaggiù desia.

“ I pensier miei già de' mie' danni lieti,
 Che fian' or s' a due morti m' avvicino,
 L' una m' è certa, e l' altra mi minaccia?

“ Nè pinger nè scolpir fia più che queti
 L' anima volta a quell' amor divino,
 Ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccia.”

² Paul IV. died on the 18th of August, 1559.

less regret than that of any former Pope: one of the first acts of whose pontificate was to deprive him of the chancellorship of Rimini, without assigning any cause; and the Last Judgment, in the Sistine Chapel, narrowly escaped from destruction by his monastic views of human life. In the commencement of his reign he conceived a notion of *reforming* that picture, in which so many academical figures offended his sense of propriety. This was communicated to Michael Angelo, who desired that the Pope might be told, "that what he wished, was very little, and might be easily effected; for if his Holiness would only *reform* the opinions of mankind, the picture would be reformed of itself." This mode of reasoning gave the Pope but little satisfaction; for he afterwards resolved to destroy it altogether, and was prevented with great difficulty, by those Cardinals who had influence in his councils: they represented that it would be a crime to whitewash the wall, and that his objections might be easily removed by painting over those parts only, which appeared to be improper; and, by

their advice, Daniello da Volterra was employed, and the picture saved.* Of the character of this Pope it is interesting for Englishmen to know, that to his inquisitorial and persecuting spirit, the reign of Queen Mary owes more of its violence, than to her own unhappy temper, the weakness of her understanding, or the bigotry of her disposition.

Pius IV.¹ of the house of Medici, succeeded to the Pontificate : Michael Angelo was continued as architect of St. Peter's, and part of the revenue of the chancellorship of Rimini was restored to him. By the desire of this Pope he made a design for a monument for the Marquis Marignano, to be placed in the Cathedral in Milan, which was executed by Lione Lioni Aretino. He also made three designs for one of the

* From this employment Daniello da Volterra was afterwards called *Il Braghettone*, as would appear from the Memoirs of Gaspero Celio. This little book, entitled, *Memoria fatta del Signor Gaspero Celio, &c.* printed at Naples in 1638, 12°, is extremely rare.

¹ Pius IV. was elected on the 24th of December, 1559.

gates of the city of Rome; that which could be executed at the least expense was selected, and in honour of the Pope was called *Porta Pia*: a work extravagantly praised by Vasari and others, but more impartial judges, I fear, will find in it but little to commend. From this specimen, however, the Pope was desirous to rebuild the other gates of the city, for which Michael Angelo made a number of designs, but it does not appear that any of them were executed. The façade of the *Porta del Popolo*, fronting the *Via Appia*, has been attributed to him, but with little probability of truth.*

The Pope was desirous of converting the ruined *Thermæ* of Dioclesian into a Christian church for the accommodation of the adjoining Carthusian Monastery, and Michael Angelo was appointed architect for

* Bottari ascribes this gate to Vignola, from the style of architecture, and from its being erected in the pontificate of Pius IV. when that architect was in high reputation and esteem. Whether this opinion be correct or not, it is entitled to respect.

that purpose. This undertaking was well executed; and the interior of this church exhibits a striking example of the effect which can be produced by simplicity of form and grandeur of dimension. Michael Angelo was also employed by the Cardinal Santa Fiore to build a chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, but which remained unfinished in consequence of the death of the Cardinal, and was afterwards terminated from original designs by Giacomo della Porta.*

During the prosecution of these works the church of St. Peter was not neglected; it was now advanced to the base of the

* The name of this Cardinal di S. Fiore, was Guido Ascanio Sforza, chamberlain to the Pope. By some it has been doubted whether Michael Angelo designed this chapel; but Bottari has made the following quotation from *Il Ciacconio*, tom. iii. p. 566, to shew that this scepticism was without foundation. "S. Mariæ Majoris basilicæ archi-presbyter præfuit, quo in templo nobile sacellum singulari artificio ex Michaelis Angeli Bonarotæ modulo in honorem Virginis Assumptæ construxit." This chapel had a superb façade, but it was destroyed by Benedict XIV. when he altered the church for the sake of a uniformity of plan, which was then adopted.

cupola, and here he paused to consider what kind of dome would be best adapted to the general design, and of the best mode to construct it; at length, after the lapse of some months, he made a small model in clay, which was afterwards executed in wood, to a scale, with the utmost accuracy, under his direction; but the want of money retarded the further progress of the building.*

The directors, who had ever been dissatisfied, exerted themselves once more to remove Michael Angelo from his situation; not from any thing that he did, or neglected to do, but because he did not enter into their views. He was now very old, and saw that his greatest crime was that of having lived too long, and being thoroughly disgusted, by their conduct, he was solicitous to resign, that his last days might not be tormented by the unprincipled exertions of a worthless faction; and this letter to

* See the church as it was left at Michael Angelo's death. ILLUSTRATIONS, ARCHITECTURE, III.

Cardinal di Carpi 'shews the state of his mind.

To the CARDINAL DI CARPI.

“ MESSER Francesco Dandini informed me yesterday that your most illustrious and most reverend Lordship told him, the building of St. Peter's could not possibly proceed worse than it did, which has truly given me much uneasiness, as your Eminence must have been misinformed. No one can, or ought to be more desirous than myself that it should go on well; and, if I am not deceived, I can assure you with truth, that, as far as the building has advanced, it could not have proceeded better: but, perhaps, I may be blinded by my own partiality, or deceived by old age, and contrary to my intention have done mischief, or not have done the service that I ought. I intend, as soon as possible, to ask my dismissal of his Holiness; nay, to save time, I even intreat your Eminence to liberate me from this vexatious

employment, which, by the commands of the Popes, as you know, I gratuitously undertook seventeen years ago, during which period I have given manifest proofs of my zeal in the prosecution of the work. To return, however, to the subject; I earnestly intreat that I may be permitted to resign, which would be conferring upon me the greatest favour; and with the most respectful reverence I kiss the hands of your Eminence.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

An object of the first importance to the directors, was to make Bigio the chief architect. Michael Angelo himself, receiving no salary for his labours, took care that no one was paid for that which he did not perform; and, as it is usual, in public works, to derive much profit from supposed or inadequate services, Bigio was the best man that could be selected to compensate for heavy losses which were sustained by knaves of every description from Michael Angelo's inflexibility.

From his advanced age, the Bishop of Ferratino, who was a principal director, recommended him to withdraw from the fatigue of his duty, but to nominate whomsoever he chose to supply his place. To so courteous a proposition Michael Angelo willingly yielded, and appointed Daniello da Volterra. As soon as this was effected it was made the basis of accusation against him, for incapacity, which gave to the directors the power of choosing a successor, and in the exercise of their authority they immediately superseded Daniello da Volterra, and appointed Bigio in his stead.

This was so unworthy an artifice, and so untrue in principle, that, in justice to himself, Michael Angelo thought it necessary to represent the affair to the Pope; at the same time, requesting that it might be understood, there was nothing he more solicited, than his own dismissal. His Holiness took up the discussion with interest, and desired that he would not retire until he made proper enquiry; and a day was immediately appointed for the directors

to meet him in the Convent of the Araceli. In this convention they only stated, in general terms, that Michael Angelo was ruining the building, and that the measures they had taken were essentially necessary. The Pope, that he might be correctly informed, previously sent Il Signor Gabrio Serbelloni to examine minutely into the affair, a man well qualified for that purpose; and upon this occasion he gave his testimony so circumstantially, that the whole scheme was shewn in one view, to originate in falsehood, and to have been fostered by malignity. Bigio was therefore dismissed and publicly reprimanded for his conduct, in this instance, as well as for the ruin of the bridge of S. Maria, and for his total want of ability in the Port of Ancona, where he is said to have done more mischief in one day, than the sea was capable of doing in ten years. The directors apologized, and acknowledged that they had been misinformed; but Michael Angelo required no apology; that the Pope should know the truth was all he desired, which being accomplished, he was satisfied: his

Holiness, however, prevailed upon him to hold his situation, and made a new arrangement, that his designs might not only be strictly executed as long as he lived, but adhered to after his death. Thus ended the last vexatious contest, of which so many had disturbed him in the progress of that important undertaking. No one ever felt the true dignity of human nature more forcibly than Michael Angelo, and his disgust at any violation of principle was acute in proportion to his sensibility and love of truth: but with these feelings, which made him a better man, he was the more irritated when attacked by those unprincipled pretenders who wished to make him subservient to their sinister views.

After this last discussion the time left to him for the enjoyment of his uncontrolled authority was short, for in the month of February, 1563, he was seized by a slow fever, which gave symptoms of his approaching death, and he desired Daniello da Volterra to write to his nephew Leonardo Buonarroti to come to Rome: his

fever however increased, and in the presence of his physician and others who were in his house, whom he ordered into his bedroom, he made this short nuncupative will—"My soul I resign to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly possessions to my nearest of kin;" then he admonished his attendants, "In your passage through this life remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ," and soon after delivering this charge, he died, on the 17th of February, 1563.⁶

Three days after his death the funeral ceremonies were performed with the most honourable respect to his memory, and his remains were deposited in the church of S. Apostoli, in Rome, attended by his friends, his countrymen, and a crowded populace. The Florentine Academicians, however, petitioned the Grand Duke of Tuscany to interpose his influence with the

⁵ *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 304.

⁶ The age of Michael Angelo was eighty-eight years, eleven months, and fifteen days. His father died at the advanced age of ninety-two.

Pope for the body to be removed to Florence, that they might have an opportunity of paying him due honours, and agreeably to his own desire, lay his bones by those of his father. ✓ The Rev^d. Mon^r. Messer Vincenzio Borghini, their president, was requested to present their memorial, which was accompanied with this letter.

“ THE Academicians of Painters and Sculptors having met to consider how they might give most satisfaction to your Excellency in paying some tribute of honour to the memory of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, to whom the arts are so much indebted, and our common country in particular; are desirous to know the will and pleasure of your Excellency, to whom they look for assistance. I am intrusted by them, and prompted by my duty, to lay their memorial before you, having the honour this year, in the situation I am placed, to be your representative, and I do it most willingly, as their wishes appear to be excited by the most honourable motives, and still more, when I consider how much your Excellency

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stands alone as a patron of genius; surpassing your illustrious ancestors, from whose munificence. Giotto received a statue, and Fra Filippo, a marble monument, and from whom the arts have derived the greatest honours.

“ With these considerations I am encouraged to recommend to your Excellency the petition of the Academicians to celebrate the talents of Michael Angelo, who in a peculiar manner was the scholar and protégé of Lorenzo the Magnificent. To grant their request will confer on them the greatest pleasure, stimulate the Professors to emulation, gratify the Public, and demonstrate to all Italy the munificence of your Excellency, whom God preserve, long and happy, to be a benefactor to your people, and a protector of the fine arts.”

March 2, 1563.

The ANSWER of the GRAND DUKE.

“ Ours, most dear and reverend,

“ THE promptitude our Academy has shewn to honour the memory of so singular a man as Michael Angelo Buonarroti, who has passed from this into a better life, has given us great consolation for his loss. We are not only willing to grant the memorial, but still further, to order that means be adopted to remove the body to Florence, conformably to the will of the deceased. Thus much, therefore, we write, to encourage the members of the Academy to do all in their power to celebrate the talents of so great a man, and God reward you.”

Pisa, March 8, 1563.

Upon the receipt of this letter the Members of the Academy presented a second memorial to the Grand Duke to this effect.

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS, &c

“ FROM the affectionate regard your Excellency has shewn for the memory of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, by the means you have used through your Orator in Rome to remove his body to Florence, the members of the Academy of Design, instituted by the grace and favour of your illustrious Lordship, have unanimously determined that his obsequies ought to be solemnized in the most honourable manner, they therefore humbly intreat your Excellency that they may be celebrated in the church of S. Lorenzo, built by your ancestors, where there are so many fine works by Michael Angelo, as well in Architecture as in Sculpture. We also pray that your Excellency will be pleased to permit Messer Benedetto Varchi⁷ to compose the funeral oration and recite it, which he has voluntarily offered, if it should be agreeable to your Lordship. We also supplicate, that

⁷ Benedetto Varchi was biographer to the Grand Duke.

all persons who are necessary to the solemnization of these obsequies should be ordered to attend and give their assistance. All these things, and every one, have been deliberated on, and discussed in the presence, and with the approbation of the Magnificent Messer Vincenzo Borghini, your Excellency's representative in this Academy of Design."

The ANSWER.

" OURS, MOST DEAR,

" WE are perfectly content fully to grant all your petitions; as, toward the extraordinary talents of Michael Angelo Buonarroto we have ever borne the same esteem that we now bear towards you. That nothing may be omitted you have proposed, and that we may not be wanting in giving you our assistance, we have written to Messer Benedetto Varchi concerning the oration, and M. V. Borghini is ordered to see to the execution of the other parts of your petition. Farewell."

Pisa, March 8, 1563.

*The Letter of the GRAND DUKE to M.
B. VARCHI.*

“ Our most dear M. Benedetto.,

“ THE affection we bear towards the talents of Michael Angelo Buonarroti makes us desire that his memory be celebrated with all possible honours, and it will be grateful to us, from the love we bear to him, that you make, agreeably to the wishes of the Academy, his funeral oration ; and it will further give us pleasure that you recite it yourself. Farewell.”

Pisa, March 9, 1563.

Added to these attentions, the Grand Duke desired that every mark of honour might be paid to his memory, and that on his part, nothing should be wanting, as far as his assistance could contribute to that end.

The body of Michael Angelo was obtained by Leonardo Buonarroti, who went to Rome upon his uncle's death, and by him privately conveyed to Florence. When it arrived, which

was on the eleventh of March, the coffin was placed at the foot of the altar of S. Pietro Maggiore, and afterwards removed to the church Santa Croce. By the Friars of that order, the funeral ceremony was again performed, and on the 14th of March, the body was finally deposited in the vault by the side of the altar, called, the Altare de' Cavalcanti.*

* In this church a monument was afterwards erected to him, and his bust placed on a sarcophagus. Beneath are three statues personifying Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. At the top is a small picture of a Dead Christ, with three female figures. The whole composition of the monument is in a very bad taste. Underneath is this inscription.

MICHAELI ANGELO BONAROTIO

E VETUSTA SIMONIORVM FAMILIA

SCVLTORI PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO

FAMA OMNIBVS NOTISSIMO

LEONARDVS PARTIVO AMANTISS. ET DE SE OPTIME MERITO
TRANSLATIS ROMA EIVS OSSIBVS ATQVE IN HOC TEMPLO MAJOR
SVO SEPVLCHRO CONEDITIS COHORTANTE SERENISS. COSMO MED.

MAGNO HETRVIÆ DVCE P. C. ANN. SAL. CIO. IO. LXX.

VIXIT ANN. LXXXVIII. M. XI. D. XV.

TRANSLATION.

To Michael Angelo Buonarroti of the ancient family of the Simonii, Sculptor, Painter, and Architect, of most distinguished fame, renowned by all. Leonardo, from

The remains of Michael Angelo being now laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors, three persons were deputed by the Academy to make the necessary preparations for his obsequies. In Catholic countries, to honour kings and heroes, it is usual to raise a temporary mausoleum decorated with trophies or ensigns of royalty and power: but as the celebrity of Michael Angelo was derived from a different source, the genius of Painting, of Sculpture, and Architecture, characterising his intellectual pre-eminence, were the fit objects to compose and ornament his cenotaph, and with this view the Painters and Sculptors employed themselves in designing and executing appropriate works.

affection to his Uncle, and from the duty he owes to his memory, by the advice of Cosmo Grand Duke of Tuscany, translated his remains from Rome, and in this church deposited them in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the year of Redemption 1570. He lived 88 years, 11 months, 15 days.

About the year 1720 the vault was opened, and Bottari says, that the remains of Michael Angelo had not then lost their original form. He was habited in the costume of the antient citizens of Florence, in a gown of green velvet, and slippers of the same.

Agreeably to the wishes of the Academy the church of S. Lorenzo was appointed for this funeral celebration to offer up the last devotional rites for his soul, and to proclaim to mankind the extent of his virtue and his talents. In the middle of the great nave was raised upon a rectangular platform, three feet from the pavement, a monument somewhat in the form of a triple cube, in the style of the ancient mausoleum of Septimius Severus; the divisions, each above the other, were contracted so as to leave sufficient room for statues to surround their respective bases, and at the top was a pyramid surmounted with a figure of Fame in the attitude of flying. On the spaces left for sculpture, statues were arranged emblematical of the various branches of knowledge connected with his professional attainments. On the façade of each division was an historical picture, in *chiar'-oscuro*, recording some circumstance or event in his life, with ornaments and appropriate inscriptions, to combine and connect the whole together. This cenotaph, which by the Italians is called a *Catafalco*,

was twenty feet by seventeen at the base, and upwards of fifty feet in height. Such is the outline of the general composition, of which I have purposely avoided the detail, lest it might be tedious.* The preparations being finished,† and the church hung with black cloth and completely illuminated, persons of every rank assembled and assisted at the awful Mass for the dead, where grandeur and sublimity were combined, and appropriate music gave a pathos to the solemnity. When the Mass was concluded, Varchi ascended a tribunal erected on the occasion, and delivered a funeral oration to honour the memory of the deceased, to excite a just admiration for his elevated genius, and a due sense of sorrow for his loss.‡

Those who wish for a more minute detail are referred to *Vasari, Vite de' Pittore, &c.* tom. ii. p. 332.

* The day on which this solemnity took place was the 14th of July, 1564.

† This oration was published immediately afterwards, consisting of 63 quarto pages, with this title, “*Orazione Funerale di M. Benedetto Varchi fatta, e recitata da Lui pubblicamente nell' esequie di Michelagnolo Buonarroti in Firenze, nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo.*”

MICHAEL ANGELO was of the middle stature, bony in his make, and rather spare, although broad over the shoulders. He had a good complexion; his forehead was square, and somewhat projecting; his eyes rather small, of a hazel colour, and on his brows but little hair: his nose was flat, being disfigured by a blow he received from Torrigiano;* his lips were thin;

* Condivi says, the blow was so violent that Michael Angelo was carried home as if dead, and that for this act Torrigiano was obliged to leave Florence.

Pietro Torrigiano was a contemporary student with Michael Angelo, and a sculptor of great merit, but a proud, inconsiderate, and ungovernable character. Benvenuto Cellini, in his own life, has recorded this affair with Michael Angelo, as it was related to him by Torrigiano himself. "His conversation one day happened to turn upon Michael Angelo Buonarroti, on seeing a drawing of mine made from the celebrated Cartoon of the battle of Pisa. 'This Buonarroti and I, (said Torrigiano), when we were young men, went to study in the church of the Carmelites, in the chapel of Masaccio; and it was customary with Buonarroti to rally those who were learning to draw there. One day, amongst others, a sarcasm of his having stung me to the quick, I was extremely irritated, and, clutching my fist, gave him such a violent blow upon his nose, that I felt the cartilage

to speak anatomically of his head, the cranium was rather large in proportion to

yield as if it had been made of paste, and the mark I then gave him he will carry to his grave."

B. Cellini's account of Torrigiano, is,—“ That he was a handsome man, but of consummate assurance, having rather the air of a *bravo* than a sculptor: above all, his strange gestures and his sonorous voice, with a manner of knitting his brows, enough to frighten every man who saw him, give him a most tremendous appearance, and he was continually talking of his great feats amongst those bears of Englishmen whose country he had but recently left.”

We are indebted to Torrigiano for the monument of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, finished, according to Stow, in 1519, and for which the sculptor received a thousand pounds. His ungovernable and restless habits often precipitated him into great difficulties, and the circumstances of his death furnish a melancholy instance of the vicissitude of life, and the baneful effects of inquisitorial jurisprudence.

Upon leaving England he visited Spain, and after distinguishing himself by many excellent works, was employed by the Duke D'Arcus to execute in marble, a Madonna and infant Christ, of the size of nature, with high promises to be rewarded in proportion to his merit; as the Duke was a Grandee of the first rank, Torrigiano flattered himself with a proportionate expectation. After much study and application he completed his work to his own satisfaction; and his performance was seen with

the face. He wore his beard, which was divided into two points at the bottom, not very thick, and about four inches long; his beard and the hair of his head were black

delight and reverence. Impatient to possess this treasure the Duke immediately sent for it; and that his generosity might be displayed to the greatest advantage, he loaded two lacqueys with the money to defray the purchase. The bulk was promising; but when the bags were found to contain nothing but brass maravedi, which amounted only to the small sum of thirty ducats, vexation and disappointment roused Torrigiano's resentment, who considered this present rather as an insult, than as a reward for his merit, on a sudden, snatched up his mallet, and without regard to the perfection of his workmanship, or the sacred character of the image, he broke it into pieces, and dismissed the lacqueys with their load of farthings to tell the tale. The Grandee, with every passion alive to this merited disgrace, and perhaps, impressed with horror for the sacrilegious nature of the act, presented him before the court of Inquisition, and impeached him for his conduct as an infidel and a heretic. Torrigiano urged the right of an author over his own creation: Reason pleaded on his side, but Superstition sat in judgment, and he was condemned to lose his life with torture, but the holy office lost its victim—Torrighiano starved himself to death in prison (1522), to avoid its torments and the horror of the execution. He was about fifty years of age, *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 76.

when a young man, and his countenance animated and expressive.

In his childhood he was of a weakly constitution; to guard his health with peculiar care, he was abstemious in all his habits; he required but little sleep; he seldom partook of the enjoyments of the table, and used to say, "however rich I may have been, I have lived always as if I had been a poor man." He ate little, was extremely irregular in his meals, had a bad digestion, and was much troubled with the headache; which he attributed to the delicate state of his stomach: notwithstanding these evils, his general health during the meridian of life, was but little impaired. Many years before his death, he was afflicted with stone and gravel, and received essential benefit from his intimate friend M. Realdo Colombo, an eminent surgeon and physician.* When advanced in years he was tormented with the cramp in his legs, for which complaint

* Messer Realdo Colombo was a Cremonese, and the author of fifteen books on Anatomy, printed in Venice 1559, and afterwards in Paris in 1572.

he constantly wore a tight covering made of a dog's skin, over which he drew his stockings and a pair of cordovan boots; in other respects his dress conformed to the costumè of his time.

In the early part of his life, he not only applied himself to sculpture and painting, but to every branch of knowledge in any way connected with those arts, and gave himself up so much to application, that in a great degree, he withdrew from society. From this ruling passion to cultivate his mind he became habituated to solitude, and happy in his pursuits, he was more content to be alone than in company; by which he obtained the character, of being a proud and an odd man; distinctions which we are apt to bestow on those with whom we wish to find fault for not resembling ourselves. When his mind was matured he attached himself to men of learning and judgment, and in the number of his most intimate friends were ranked the highest dignitaries in the church, and the most eminent literary characters of his time.

That princely Cardinal, Ippolito de' Medici,* and the Cardinals, Bembo, Ridolfi,

* Ippolito de' Medici was the natural son of Duke Guiliano de' Medici, who was the brother of Leo X. He was an extraordinary man, of whose munificence and princely style of living there is the concurring testimony of all contemporary writers. The following account of him has been collected by M. Tenhove, in his *Memoirs of the House of Medici*. "He was educated by the care of Leo X. and a greater genius was not to be found, nor one with a greater taste for the arts, sciences, and letters.—The learned languages were familiar to him almost from his infancy, and he excelled in verse and prose.—Berni, and other writers, mention his translation into blank verse of Virgil's second book of the *Æneid*: he was a perfect musician on every instrument; on the flute he was astonishing—he was the first violin in Italy—and on the trumpet without a rival.—His liberality was boundless, to refuse a request was not in his power, and it was not with gold alone that he rewarded genius and talents.—With the artist and the learned he lived on the most friendly terms, as their equal and companion—his service had nothing harsh nor austere—nothing humiliating—and his dependants felt nothing of his superiority. But with all these excellent qualities, his fickleness and inconstancy were without example. At thirty years of age he died, and, with probability, is supposed to have been carried off by poison. His death was a subject of general regret to men of letters and to the virtuosi of every description. He not only patronised arts and

and Maffeo, were distinguished for their friendship towards him; and, as an Englishman it gives me pleasure to find Cardinal Pole, amongst them, entitled, "*suo amicissimo*." Ippolito de' Medici was particularly partial to him, and understanding that he admired a Turkish horse of his, he sent it to him, with ten mules loaded with corn, and begged his acceptance of this present as a mark of his esteem. Notwithstanding such men were numbered amongst his friends, he was, nevertheless, amused with the harmless comedy of human life, and his repartees were always seasoned with pleasantry.⁶ But the person of all others

sciences and letters, but all the graceful exercises, and persons who excelled in them had been assembled from all the quarters of the globe: more than twenty different languages were spoken in his palace, and the music of every country echoed from its walls."

⁵ Vasari, tom. iii. p. 309. According to Camden, Cardinal Pole is supposed to have been born in the year 1500, and died Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 17th of Nov. 1558. Condivi speaking of him, says, that he possessed "*rare virtù e bontà singolare*." § lxiii.

⁶ Condivi, § lxxviii. Giuliano Bugiardini, to whom Michael Angelo once sat for his portrait to oblige Otta-

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who absorbed his affections and regard, was that excellent and accomplished woman, the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara; her superior

viano de' Medici, and one Menighella, a very indifferent painter, are among the number of those, who recommended themselves by their eccentric good nature: for these persons he occasionally made drawings and models; and Vasari particularizes a model of a Crucifix, beautifully executed, which he gave to Menighella, who formed a mould, and made casts of it with thick paper and other compositions, and sold them to the country people. "Michelagnolo, che era difficile a lavorare: per li Re, si metteva giù, lassando stare ogni lavoro, e gli faceva disegni semplici accomodati alla maniera, e volontà, come diceva Menighella; e fra l'altre gli fece fare un modello d'un Crocifisso, che era bellissimo; sopra il quale vi fece un cavo e ne formava di cartone, e d'altre mesture, e in contado gli andava vendendo."—*Vasari*, tom ii. p. 321. This passage I have been the more particular to give in the words of the author, because it shews that the art of working in *papier-machè* was known in Italy before the middle of the sixteenth century.

Benvenuto Celini, in the life of himself, speaks of a club established by a statuary of the name of Michael Angelo, who appears to have been a facetious debauchee, if credit be given to his account of a revel held at his house. This person was a native of Siena, and I believe is only known as a sculptor, by a monument he executed from a design of Peruzzi, to honour the memory of

mind and endowments, and her partiality for his genius, impressed him with the most endearing esteem. For many years before her death she resided at Viterbo, and occasionally visited Rome for no other purpose, than to enjoy his society. To her, Michael Angelo addressed three sonnets and a madrigal, and wrote an epitaph on her death, in which his admiration is tempered with the most profound respect for her character: yet, his friendship seems not to be without some diminution; for, in a madrigal addressed to her, he says, to load with obligation, those who can never repay the debt, is to oppress the feelings we mean to cherish; and though the highest sense of gratitude may supply their place, friendship so rarely to be found, which entwines

Adrian VI. He was patronized by Cardinal Incfort, at whose instance the monument was made. Vasari has given a short account of him, and says, that he died at about fifty years of age. *Vide la sua Opera*, tom. iii. p. 260. These circumstances are mentioned, to prevent the Sienese sculptor in the life of Bevenuto Celini from being taken for the *divine* Michael Angelo, who by this distinctive appellation, is so often mentioned by that author.

the heart and makes the social sympathy complete, demands that there should be an equality as well in fortune as in virtue.⁷

In her last moments Michael Angelo paid her a visit, and the recollection of her death is said constantly to have produced dejection in his mind.

Among the authors he studied and delighted in most, were Dantè and Petrarch; of these it is said he could nearly repeat by memory all their poems: but Dantè appears to have held the highest place in his esteem; and as a poet, and a man, these two sonnets bear sufficient testimony of his admiration of him.

⁷ Dr. Johnson, in the following passage, from a similarity of association, has almost given a translation of this madrigal.—“Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals.—Benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be discharged, are not commonly found to increase affection; they excite gratitude, indeed, and heighten veneration, but commonly take away that easy freedom and familiarity of intercourse, without which, though there may be fidelity, zeal, and admiration, there cannot be friendship.” *Rambler*, N° 64.

SONNET.

HE from the world into the blind abyss
 Descended and beheld the realms of woe ;
 Then to the seat of everlasting bliss,
 And God's own throne, led by his thought sublime,
 Alive he soar'd, and to our nether clime
 Bringing a steady light, to us below
 Revealed the secrets of eternity.
 Ill did his thankless countrymen repay
 The fine desire ; that which the good and great
 So often from the insensate many meet,
 That evil guerdon did our Dantè find.
 But gladly would I, to be such as he,
 For his hard exile and calamity.
 Forego the happiest fortunes of mankind.*

* Dal mondo scese a i ciechi abissi, e poi
 Che l' uno, e l' altro inferno vide, e a Dio,
 Scorto dal gran pensier vivo salio,
 E ne diè in terra vero lume a noi,*
 Stella d'alto valor co i raggi suoi
 Gli occulti eterni a noi ciechi scoprio,
 E n' hebbe il premio al fin che'l mondo rio
 Dona sovente a i più pregiati eroi.
 Di Dante mal fur l' opre conosciute,
 E 'l bel desio da quel popolo ingrato,
 Che solo a i gusti manca di salute.
 Pur fuss' io tal ; ch' a simil sorte nato,
 Per l' aspro esilio suo con la virtute
 Darei del mondo il più felice stato.

SONNET.

How shall we speak of him, for our blind eyes
 Are all unequal to his dazzling rays?
 Easier it is to blame his enemies
 Than for the tongue to tell his lightest praise.
 For us did he explore the realms of woe;
 And at his coming did high Heaven expand
 Her lofty gates, to whom his native land
 Refus'd to open hers. Yet shalt thou know,
 Ungrateful city, in thine own despite,
 That thou hast fostered best thy Dantè's fame;
 For virtue when oppressed appears more bright,
 And brighter therefore shall his glory be,
 Suffering of all mankind most wrongfully,
 Since in the world there lives no greater name?⁹

Southey.

9 Quanto dirne si dee non si può dire
 Che troppo a gli orbi il suo splendor s' accese
 Biasmar si può più 'l popol che l' offese,
 Ch' al minor pregio suo lingua salire.
 Questi discese a i regni del fallire
 Per noi insegnare, e poscia a Dio n' ascese:
 E l' alte porte il ciel non gli contese,
 Cui la patria le sue negò d' aprire,
 Ingrata patria, e della sua fortuna
 A suo danno nutrice: e n' è bon segno
 Ch' a i più perfetti abbonda di più guai.
 E fra mille ragion vaglia quest' una:
 Ch' egual non hebbe il suo esilio indegno,
 Com' huom maggior di lui qui non fu mai.

Michael Angelo, in his own poetical compositions imitated Petrarch rather than Dantè; yet it is sufficiently obvious throughout his works in painting, that the

Dantè Alighieri was born at Florence in May, 1265, of an ancient and honourable family. In the early part of his life he gained some credit in a military character, distinguishing himself by his bravery in an action where the Florentines obtained a signal victory over the citizens of Arezzo. He became still more eminent by the acquisition of civil honours, and at the age of thirty-five he rose to be one of the chief magistrates of Florence, where that dignity was conferred by the suffrages of the people. From this exaltation the poet himself dated his principal misfortunes. Italy was at that time distracted by the contending factions of the Ghibelines and Guelphs, among the latter Dantè took an active part. In one of the proscriptions he was banished, his possessions confiscated, and he died in exile the 14th of September, 1321.

The person and manners of Dantè are thus described by Boccacio.* “ He was of the middle stature, of a mild disposition; and, from the time he arrived at manhood, grave in his manner and deportment. His clothes were plain, and his dress always conformable to his years: his face was long; his nose aquiline; his eyes rather large

* Giovanni Boccacio was born at Certaldo in Tuscany, 1313, and died, 1375.

poetical mind of Dantè influenced his feelings. The Demons in the Last Judgment, with all their mixed and various passions, may find a prototype in "La Divina Commedia." The figures rising from the grave, mark his study of "L'Inferno, and il Purgatorio;" and the subject of the Brazen Serpent, in the Sistine Chapel, must remind every reader of Canto XXV. dell' Inferno, where the flying serpents, the writhing and contortions of the human body from en-

than otherwise; the jaw bones prominent, and the lower lip somewhat projected beyond the upper. His complexion was dark; his hair and beard were thick, black, and crisp; and his countenance was melancholy and pensive. In his meals he was extremely moderate; in his manners most courteous and civil; and, both in public and in private life, he was admirably decorous.—"

Michael Angelo, with the Florentine Academicians and others petitioned Leo X. to remove the remains of Dantè from Ravenna, where he was buried, to deposit them in his native city, and erect a monument to honour his memory. 'Io Michelagnolo Scultore il medesimo a vostra Santità supplico, offerendomi al 'Divin Poeta fare la sepoltura sua, chondeccente e in loco onorevole in questa Città.'—*Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 293. This petition was dated October the 20th, 1519; but was not granted, as I have before observed, p. 96.

~~venomed wounds, are~~ described with pathos and horror; and the execution of Haman, in the opposite angle of the same ceiling, is doubtless designed from these lines :

Poi piove dentro all' alta fantasia
 Un crocifisso dispettoso e fiero
 Nella sua vista, e cotal si moria.
 Intorno ed esso era 'l grande Assuero,
 Ester sua sposa, e 'l giusto Mardocheo,
 Che fu al dire ed al far così 'ntero.*

The edition of Dantè he used, was a large folio with Landino's commentary: and upon the broad margin of the leaves he designed, with a pen and ink, all the interesting subjects in the poem.* He also

* ——— like the explosion of a summer cloud
 Down came a bloody cross, and ghastly man,
 Despite and rage possess'd his features wan,
 Writhing in torture, round the fatal wood.
 A king, his consort, and a rev'rend sage,
 Watch'd from below the dying felon's rage.

The Rev. H. Boyd, A. M.

* This book was possessed by Antonio Montauti, a sculptor and architect in Florence, who, being appointed architect to St. Peter's, removed to Rome, and shipped his marbles, bronzes, studies, and other effects, at Leg-

~~dearly demonstrated by the mission~~
 studied, with equal attention, the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament. His acquirements in anatomy are manifest throughout his works, and he often proposed to publish a treatise upon that subject for the use of painters and sculptors, principally to shew, what muscles were brought into action in the various motions of the human body. Albert Durer's Treatise on the Proportions of the Human Body, suggested to him the usefulness of such a work; the rules and measures there laid down, being, in his opinion, too mechanical, and insufficient; he therefore consulted with his friend Messer Realdo Colombo upon the subject, and he sent him the body of a fine young Moor, well adapted to his purpose; he dissected it, and made his remarks: but they were never published, and we have the more to regret the loss, as it was only through diffidence that he was prevented, being afraid, as he said, lest he should not

horn, for Cività Vecchia, among which was this edition of Dantè; in the voyage the vessel foundered at sea, and was lost.

be able to express himself so clearly, and fully, as the nature of the subject required. It is a common opinion, that Michael Angelo entertained some theory upon muscular motion; but I have not been able to make that inference from any passage in his own writings, or that of any contemporary author: Condivi says he had some ingenious theory in his mind upon anatomy, but what that theory was, he does not himself seem to know, and we are left without any data to form a conjecture; but it is evident that Condivi never meant to imply, that the theory, whatever it might have been, had reference to any latent physiological principle, for although he states, that "Michael Angelo's knowledge of human anatomy, and of other animals," was so correct, that those who had all their lives studied it as their profession hardly understood the subject so well; yet he qualifies this remark by saying, *I speak only of that department necessary to the arts of design, which indeed his works evidently demonstrate, but not of the minutiae*

³ Of the quadrupeds he dissected, the horse was the animal he paid most attention to.

necessary for a surgeon."* When Michael Angelo began to dissect, he was so disgusted with its offensiveness that he lost his appetite; and, conceiving that his powers of digestion were impaired, for a time, he desisted, yet, he was soon dissatisfied with himself, for not being able to do what was every day done by others without inconvenience; he therefore resumed the study, and pursued it to the fullest extent necessary to his profession. Of perspective he knew as much as was known in the age in which he lived; but this branch of knowledge was not then reduced to a science, nor governed by mathematical principles; and it ought to be observed, in justice to our own country, that that discovery was made in the beginning of the last century (1715), by Dr. Brook Taylor, who has had more voluminous commentaries made on his two small pamphlets, than have been written upon any scientific work since his time.

The love of wealth made no part of Michael Angelo's character; he was in no

* *Condivi*, §. LVI. e LX.

instance covetous of money, nor attentive to its accumulation; that which was sufficient for his moderate wants bounded his wishes, and he was an example of his own opinion.

“Che 'l tempo è breve e 'l necessario poco.”

“Man wants but little, nor that little long.”

When he was offered commissions from the rich, with large sums, he rarely accepted them, being more stimulated by friendship, and benevolence, than the desire of gain. For eighteen years he gave up his time to the building of St. Peter's, without emolument; and when Paul III. sent him a sum equivalent to forty pounds of our money, for one month's pay, at the commencement of his appointment, he returned it; being influenced, to undertake that employment, from other motives. He freely assisted literary men, as well as those of his own profession, who were not in good circumstances, without any desire that they should be sensible of the obligation; rather

• CXXXI.

wishing, at all times, to confer a benefit, than to have the reputation of it : but the most enviable instance of his liberality is a donation he made to his old and faithful servant Urbino.—Michael Angelo talking to him one day, asked him, “ What will become of you, Urbino, if I were to die ? ” he replied, “ I must then serve another.” “ Poor fellow,” said Michael Angelo, “ I will take care that you shall not stand in need of another master,” and immediately made him a present of two thousand crowns. An act, as Vasari exclaims, only to be expected from Popes and great Emperors.* For this

* To his nephew Leonardo Buonarroti, he gave three or four thousand crowns at a time.—“ Al Nipote ha dato per volta, tre e quattro mila scudi e nel fine gli ha lassato scudi 10000, senza le cose di Roma.” *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 317.

By the following brief Michael Angelo seems to have obtained for Urbino an appointment in the Vatican, to take care of the pictures ; which place, by the Italians, is called Custodio.

Paulus Papa III. ad futuram rei memoriam.

“ To preserve from every kind of injury the extraordinary pictures in the Sistine Chapel, where our venerable

servant he had a very sincere regard ; and during his last illness Michael Angelo waited upon him, and sate up with him by night, though he was himself then eighty-two years of age. At his death he was greatly affected, and upon that event he wrote this letter to Vasari, which does honour to his feelings.

brethren the Cardinals of the holy Roman church usually solemnize divine service ; those also in the Chapel Paulina painted, and now executing by our dearly beloved Michael Angelo and others, in the grand hall of our palace, at a great expense of the apostolical government: We do constitute and appoint a conservator, with a salary of six golden crowns per month, to be paid by the apostolical chamber, at the same time, and in the same manner, as to the other persons belonging to our chapel. At all future times, whenever the place becomes vacant, the appointment shall be made by the reigning Pontiff, to fulfil the duties of the office required by these presents.

“ By this our Will and authority the office of Conservator being established, we grant the same to our dearly beloved Francesco Amatori d’Urbino, who belongs to the household of the aforesaid Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, with all the honours, privileges, indulgencies, and prerogatives thereunto belonging, with the salary of six ducats, as aforesaid, with the addition of four crowns per month for incidental expenses, to be paid by our treasurer, commencing on the 1st of November next

“ MY DEAR GIORGIO,

“ I AM but ill disposed to write, however I will sit down to answer yours. You already know that Urbino is dead. His death has been a heavy loss to me, and the cause of excessive grief, but it has also been a most impressive lesson of the grace of God : for it has shewn me, that he who in his lifetime comforted me in the enjoyment of life, dying, has taught me how to die ; not with reluctance, but even with a desire of death. He lived with me twenty-six years, grew rich in my service, and I found him a most rare and faithful servant ; and now that I calculated upon his being the staff and repose of my old age he is taken away,

ensuing ; and the said Francesco Amatori d'Urbino shall be obliged to preserve the pictures from dust or any other injury, and from the smoke of the lamps and candles which are used in the celebration of divine service in the chapels before named ; and he shall hold this office during his life, unrestrained from the free exercise of what appertains to the situation : and whatever is to the contrary of this our will, is declared null and void,” &c. *Vide Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. vi. p. 24.

and has left me only the hope of seeing him again in Paradise. That he will go there, the beneficence of God has already given a sign in the happy serenity of his last moments ; for his death caused him much less sorrow than the concern he felt at leaving me in this treacherous world surrounded with troubles : my better part, however, is gone with him, and nothing remains to me but infinite misery. Farewell

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Michael Angelo had a great love for his art, and a laudable desire to perpetuate his name. A friend of his regretted that he had no children to whom he might bequeath the profits he acquired by his profession, to which he answered, " My works must supply their place ; and if they are good for any thing, they will live hereafter. It would have been unfortunate for Lorènzio Ghiberti, had he not left the doors of S. Giovanni, for his sons and his nephews have long since sold and dissipated his accumulated wealth ; but his sculpture re-

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mains, and will continue to record his name to future ages.”⁷ In his professional labours he continued to study to the end of his life, but was never satisfied with any thing he did: when he saw any imperfection that might have been avoided, he easily became disgusted, rather preferring to commence his undertaking entirely anew, than attempt an emendation, hence he completed but few works in sculpture. Lomazzo tells an anecdote, that Cardinal Farnese one day found him, when an old man, walking alone in the Colosseo, and expressed his surprise at finding him solitary amidst the ruins; to which he replied, “I yet go to school.”⁸ Whether the anecdote be correctly true

⁷ These doors are of bronze, divided into compartments containing bas-reliefs on sacred subjects, and are ranked among the first productions of sculpture since the revival of the art. When Michael Angelo was once asked his opinion of them, he said they were fit to be the doors of Paradise.

⁸ “Ritrovato una volta il Cardinal Farnese Michel Angelo appresso al Coliseo, e chiestogli, dove allora andasse per quelle nevi; egli rispose: Io vado ancora alla scuola per imparare.” *Lomazzo, dell' idea del tempio della pittura*, c. 114. Gio. Paolo Lomazzo was born at

or not, it is certain that it was a prevailing principle in his mind, that no state of bodily decay or approximation to death was incompatible with mental improvement.⁹ He also established it as a principle, that to live in credit was enough, if life were virtuously and honourably employed for the good of others and the benefit of posterity;—thus he laid up the most profitable treasure for his old age, and calculated upon its best resources; for he whose wealth serves only to enrich himself, is insulated as life declines, or surrounded by dependents, none of whom wish

Milan, 1538, and painted history, portraits, and other subjects, till he became blind in the thirty-third year of his age, and then he devoted himself to writing upon his art. In 1585 he published his most celebrated work, entitled, *Trattato delle Arte della Pittura, Scoltura, et Architettura*. In 1587, he published a large volume of poems, entitled *Grotteschi*. In 1590, he published the work from which I have made the preceding extract, entitled, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*; and in 1591, he published his last work, *Della Forma delle Muse*: all printed in 4to. in Milan.

⁹ See ILLUS. DESIGN IX.

the continuance of his being ; but he who has cultivated his mind with useful knowledge, and devoted himself to the practice of virtue, makes all nature interested in the length of his days.

As men of genius are sometimes subject to the envy of their contemporaries, so Michael Angelo was not without his enemies ; but when he was asked why he did not resent the ill treatment he daily experienced from the insidious conduct of Baccio Bigio ; his answer was, “ He who contends with the worthless, must always be a loser ; ” but plausible professions amongst men of rank often disgusted him, and the occasional necessity of yielding up his stoical sense of truth to the more flexible usage of society, was repugnant to his natural feelings. In a madrigal to his friend Luigi del Riccio, we have this transcript of his mind.

ILL hath he chosen his part who seeks to please
The worthless world,—ill hath he chosen his part,
For often must he wear the look of ease
When grief is at his heart ;

And often in his hours of happier feeling
With sorrow must his countenance be hung,
And ever his own better thoughts concealing
Must he in stupid Grandeur's praise be loud
And to the errors of the ignorant crowd

Assent with lying tongue.

Thus much would I conceal that none should know
What secret cause I have for silent woe ;
And taught by many a melancholy proof
That those whom Fortune favours it pollutes,
I from the blind and faithless world aloof,
Nor fear its envy nor desire its praise,
But choose my path through solitary ways.*

Southey.

** A Luigi del Riccio.*

Non sempre al mondo è sì pregiato, e caro
Quel che molti contenta,
Che non sia alcun che senta
Quel ch'è lor dolce a se crudo, et amaro.
Ma spesso al folle volgo, al volgo ignaro
Convien ch'altri consenta,
E mesto rida dov'ei ride, e gode,
E pianga allor che più felice siede.
Io del mio duol quest' uno effetto ho caro,
Ch'algun di fuor non vede
Chi l'alma attrista, e i suoi desir non ode.
Nè temo invidia, o pregio onore, o lode
Del mondo cieco, che rompendo fede,
Più giova a chi più scarso esser ne suole,
E vò per vie men calpestate, e sole.

In the discharge of his duty at all times he was inflexible, and his actions were ever governed by one principle, that of accomplishing the end by the most direct means. Towards men of supercilious ignorance, he was unbending and hostile ; though in his nature, benevolent and kind. He was susceptible of warm indignation when roused by a sense of injustice, and unmindful of courtesy to those who were unworthy of his esteem, but devoted to those whom he sincerely valued ; and as is common with men of strong minds and delicate sensibility, he was as fearful of giving offence, as he was quick in resenting an injury.

This short epistle to a nobleman is an example of the natural delicacy of his mind.

“ MY LORD MARQUIS,

“ While I was in Rome, no opportunity occurred, to leave the crucifix with M. Tomaso, your agent, though I can assure your Lordship, that I have ever been more desirous of serving you, than any man

I ever knew in the world. The hurry of business in which I have been involved, and which still continues to occupy my attention, prevented me from acquainting you with it; besides, Love, as your Lordship well knows, requires no master, nor even sleeps over that, which is unattainable; and in this case, although I may appear to have been negligent, I did my best in silence, in order to accomplish what was not expected from me; but my intention has been disappointed.

“ He who forgets great obligations, himself deserves to be forgotten. |

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

The two following letters may also, with propriety, be inserted here, as they relate to his private character.

To VASARI.

“ THAT you continue to think of the poor old man gives me the greatest pleasure: I am still more obliged to you, for your communication of the birth of another Bu-

narroti, and of the fête upon the occasion, for which I return you my best thanks : nevertheless, so much pomp displeases me ; Man should not be gay, when all the world is sad ; and in my opinion, it is ill timed to make such feasts and rejoicings for one just born, which ought the rather to be deferred, to commemorate the virtues of a well-spent life.

“ Be not surprised if I do not answer you soon, and I tell you so, that I may not appear to be a trader. For the many praises you have bestowed upon me in your letter, if I, in any degree, merited them, all I have to give, would be only making a bare acknowledgment for a very small part of what I am indebted to you, and which, in this life, I shall never be able to repay, for I am old, and hope declines ; but in the other world it may be our lot to balance the account : however, be it as it may, I intreat your goodness, and remain yours——

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

Rome, April 1554.

Affairs here, are so so.”

*To CORNELIA.**

“ I WAS aware that you were angry with me, but I did not know why ; by your last, however, I think I have discovered the reason. When you sent the cheeses, you wrote to tell me, that you would have sent the other things, but that the handkerchiefs were not bought ; and I, to prevent your being at any expense on my account, wrote to you, not to send any thing more, but that it would give me the greatest pleasure to execute your commands ; as you may be assured of the love I still bear to Urbino, though dead, and to all that concerns him.

“ With respect to my visiting the children, or having Michael Angelo sent to me, it is necessary that I should tell you how I am circumstanced. I am without females or a confidential person ; therefore it would

* Cornelia is supposed to have been the widow of Michael Angelo's old and faithful servant Urbino, whose name has been already mentioned.

be improper to send the child, as he is yet too young, and if any thing should happen to him it would give me the greatest concern : besides, the Duke of Florence, for this month past, has been strongly pressing me, with the most liberal offers, to return to Florence. I have requested as much time as may be necessary to arrange my concerns, and to leave St. Peter's in a fair way; so that I calculated upon staying here all the summer, in which time I shall settle my business and yours of the *Monte della Fede*, and in the winter return to Florence, there to remain for the rest of my life ; for I am now an old man, and shall not again be able to revisit Rome, when I go from hence. If Michael Angelo may be then intrusted to my care, I will keep him as a child of Leonardo my nephew, and will teach him all that I know, and all that his Father wished him to learn. Yesterday, 27th of March, I received your last letter.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Rome.

Michael Angelo was never married, but he was a man of domestic habits, and possessed ardent and affectionate feelings. Although love is the principal subject which pervades his poetry, and Petrarch the sole object of his imitation, yet no mention is made of his Beatrice, or his Laura ; her name is concealed, if she had any ; the prevalency in his day of reducing all personal feeling into Platonism and a species of unintelligible metaphysics, appears also to have influenced his mind. Condivi says, “ I have often heard Michael Angelo reason and discourse upon love, but never heard him speak otherwise than upon Platonic love. As for me, I am ignorant what Plato has said upon that subject ; but this I know very well, that in a long intimacy I have never heard from his mouth a single word which was not most perfectly decorous, and had not for its object to extinguish in youth every improper and lawless desire ; and that his own nature is a stranger to depravity.”

This Sonnet shews the seriousness of his character.

¹ Condivi, § LXV.

SONNET.

YES! Hope may with my strong desire keep pace,
 And I be undeluded, unbetray'd ;
 For, if of our affections none find grace
 In sight of Heaven, then wherefore hath God made
 The world which we inhabit? Better plea
 Love cannot have, than that in loving thee
 Glory to that eternal Peace is paid,
 Who such divinity to thee imparts
 As hallows and makes pure all gentle hearts.
 His hope is treacherous only, whose love dies
 With beauty, which is varying every hour :
 But in chaste hearts, uninfluenced by the power
 Of outward change, there blooms a deathless flower
 That breathes on earth the air of Paradise.*

Wordsworth.

- * Ben può talor col mio ardente desio
 Salir la speme, e non esser fallace ;
 Che s' ogni nostro affetto al Ciel dispiace,
 Fatto a che fine avrebbe 'l mondo Iddio ?
 Qual più giusta cagion dell' amarti io,
 Che render gloria a quell' eterna pace,
 Onde pende il divin che di te piace,
 E ch'ogni cor gentil fa casta, e pio ?
 Fallace speme ha sol l'amor che muore
 Con la beltà, che scema a ciascun' ora ;
 Perch' è soggetto al variar d'un viso ;
 Certa è ben quella in un pudico cuore,
 Che per cangiar di scorza non si sfiora,
 Nè langue, e qui caparra il paradiso.

The Poem XLVII. appears to have been written from his feelings rather than his imagination; but whether the person to whom it was addressed was real, or imaginary, must be now left to conjecture; yet there is a marked character in it which would seem to point at some individual. It contains sentiments common to generous minds, when roused to indignation by the meddling interference of those, whose pleasure is in proportion to the dissension they produce.

The marked distinction shewn to him by the potentates of Europe corresponded to the claims which were due to his genius. When Bajazet II. solicited him to build a bridge to unite Pera to Constantinople, he sent to him a letter of credit upon a banker in Florence, and upon all the cities on his way, to receive as much money as he required for his expenses; and on the frontiers of his dominions, upon whatever road he chose to take, an escort of Janissaries were to be in readiness to conduct him to Constantinople. This offer was declined, as

has been before observed, through the advice and persuasion of the Gonfaloniere Soderini. Francis I. intreated him to visit France, and used many arguments to persuade him to reside at his Court, with an offer of three thousand crowns to pay the expenses of his journey. The Republic of Venice sent a person of the name of Bruciolo to make him an offer of an annual pension of six hundred crowns to reside in that city, and a discretionary power, to employ his time in whatever manner was most agreeable to himself, and to be paid for what he did, without any reference to his pension. With respect to the Popes, under whose government he may be said more particularly to have lived, I have already enumerated sufficient instances to shew how much he was respected and valued by them.

To cite all the passages of contemporary authors who have expressed an enthusiasm for his genius, would be to exhaust language in seeming hyperbole. Varchi, in the extravagance of his admiration, says, that if he

had been a native of Scythia under some barbarous Chieftain, instead of having been born in the bright æra of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he would still have been Michael Angelo, unique in Painting, unparal-
 lellled in Sculpture, a perfect Architect, an admirable Poet, and a divine Lover.⁵ Claudio Tolomei of Siena, a writer of eminent learning, says, that Perino del Vaga, one of the great scholars of Raffaello, and all other painters, adored him, as the Master, the Prince, and the Deity of Design.⁶ Ariosto, among the artists whose reputation he considers as permanent, although their works should decay, thus celebrates him in his Orlando Furioso :

“ Duo Dossi ; ⁷ e quel, ch’ a par sculpe, e colora,
 Michel, più che mortal, Angel’ divino.”⁸

C. xxxiii. st. 2.

⁵ Due Lezzione di M. Benedetto Varchi. 4to. 1549. p. 52, 53.

⁶ Lettere sulla Pittura, tom. iv. Let. 11.

⁷ These were two brothers of no great eminence as painters, but were natives of Ferrara, where Ariosto himself was born. Vasari has given some account of them, tom. iii. p. 262.

⁸ *Two Dosses*; and he, who as a Painter and a sculp-

Vasari unites in the same strain of panegyric, and justifies the epithet Divine, so often bestowed on him, on principles of strict propriety.* Notwithstanding this strain of eulogium, to which much might be added of the same kind, the most valuable testimony to his merit is the opinion of his rival, the great Raffaello d'Urbino, who was often heard to say, he thanked God, that he was born in the time of Michael Angelo Buonarroti.†

To commemorate his fame, all who could make versés employed themselves to pay some tribute to his memory, and no less than forty-five of these compositions, both in Italian and Latin, were collected and published soon after his death, in a little book entitled, “ Poesie di diversi Authori Latine e volgare, fatte nella morte di Michel Agnolo Buonarroti.” These poems, as literary compositions, are of little value :

tor equally excels, *Michael*, more than mortal, Angelo (*Angel*) divine.

* Vasari nel Proemio, p. 7.

† Condivi, § LVII.

but they serve to shew the prevailing sentiment of the time. This conceit may be considered as an epitome of all they contain.

QUANTUM IN NATURA ARS NATURAQUE POSSIT IN ARTE
HIC QUI NATURÆ PAR FUIT ARTE DOCET.*

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to trace the character of Michael Angelo, which has appeared to me in all essential points, entitled to honour and esteem. Those who knew him well, esteemed

* In as much as Art can make Nature's works her own, and in as much as Nature can contribute to Art; this man, who was a part of Nature, teaches by his Art.

From the following letter it would seem that Michael Angelo was used to receive high poetical commendation in his lifetime; but from the flattery that is here indicated, it is most probable the madrigal and the sonnets alluded to, were as worthless as hyperbole generally is.

To NICCOLÒ MARTELLI.

“MESSER Niccolò, I have received your letter by the favour of M. Vincenzo Perini, with two sonnets and a madrigal. The letter and the sonnet directed to me are admirable, and no one can be so refined in his taste as to discover in them any thing to improve; it is true they praise me so much that if I were perfection itself it would still be excessive. I see you fancy me to be what I would

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him most, and those who were worthy of his friendship, knew how to value it. He was impetuous when he felt the slightest attack upon his integrity, and hasty in his decisions, which gave him an air of irascibility ; but he was not morose in his disposition nor cynical in his habits. To all who were in need of assistance from his fortune, or his talents, he exercised a princely liberality ; and to those of honourable worth, however low their station, he was kind and benevolent ; he sympathized with their distress, nor ever refused his aid. In the Catholic faith of his ancestors he was sincere ; and his piety strengthened and elevated his virtues.

Such is the character of Michael Angelo

to God I were. I am a poor man of little account, and go on labouring in that art which God has given me, to prolong my life as much as I can ; and such as I am, I am the humble servant of you and your family. For the letter and the sonnets I return you my thanks ; but not as I feel obliged, because I am unequal to the acknowledgment of such distinguished courtesy.

“ MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

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which I have been able to collect, from the most authentic materials; and which I have written with peculiar pleasure to myself.

By the favour of Mr. Ottley, I have been enabled to enrich my work with a fac-simile of Michael Angelo's hand-writing, of which the annexed is a faithful representation, and appears to be a copy or duplicate of a letter sent to an agent of the Pope, Clement VII. concerning some money transaction.

“ The copy of a letter which I Michael Angelo Buonarroti sent this morning, the 18th of October 1524, to Giovanni * * * Salviati. The bearer was Antonio Mini, &c.”

“ La chopia della lettera che Io Michelagnio Buonarroti mandata sta mani a di 18 d'Octobre 1524, a Giovanni * * * e Salviati. Lapportatore e stato Antonio Mini che * * * in suruna carta come questa.”

GENERAL REMARKS.

In works of genius, if permanent admiration be our hope, we must be governed by unalterable laws, conformable to the great, and general principles of nature. Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, with all the productions of taste have common data,* and in proportion as they exhibit the powers of the understanding, or the sensibility of the heart, they will be destined to immortality.

* The great principle by which works in painting make a strong and clear impression on the mind, is technically termed *breadth*, whether the term refers to colour or to *chiar'-oscuro*. In Architecture, when a large building is divided into small parts, with little connexion between themselves, or relation to the whole composition, and wants bold projections, or recesses, for depths of shadow, it is said to be without *breadth* or *effect*.* In Sculpture the mechanical skill of the artist is shewn in preserving the *demi-plat* of the figure, which is only another term for *breadth*.

* The term *effect* is also used technically in painting to denote a concentrating principle of light-and-shadow.

The Arts of Painting and Sculpture, before the time of Michael Angelo, had slowly but progressively advanced from the middle of the fourteenth century. When they were revived by Cimabue and Giotto, a dry and meagre representation of individual form, without selection, bounded their knowledge; to combine and generalize those principles by which the arts are allied to poetry was then not known, and mechanical excellence confined to unlearned imitation was the chief object to which their application was directed. Afterwards to a more correct knowledge of design and composition were added *chiar'-oscuro* and *colouring*, and the true principles of art were gradually unfolded. The schools of Florence and Rome, which first drew the attention of men of taste, had the highest qualities of genius to recommend them; but it remained to the Venetian and the Flemish schools to fascinate mankind by a display of whatever is rich and ornamental in painting, and the works of Titian, Paul

⁷ Cimabue died 1300, and Giotto 1336, both at sixty years of age.

Veronese, and Rembrandt, are still unrivalled; while Michael Angelo, Raffaello, and Julio Romano, shew that they were masters of whatever was essential to the grandeur of historical composition.

Sculpture, more simple in the operation by which it is produced, is little capable of superficial attractions, being limited by the material, to abstract *form* and *character*; it is an art which has grandeur for its chief object; yet the power of making accurate resemblances of familiar objects with apparent facility of execution, has always had charms for the vulgar of every age and nation: hence it has been often degraded by caprice and novelties adapted to meet popular feelings, and Bernini and Bouchardon, though they possessed higher claims, exhausted the praise of their time for those qualities: although, as Sir Joshua Reynolds observes, the Sculptor is at liberty to improve his own art by imitating the grand style of painting, yet he is not permitted to borrow in the same manner from the ornamental and picturesque style, for by

so doing, he transgresses the boundaries of his own art, and violates its essential character, by giving a different direction to its operations, with a hope to effect what is unattainable, or at least if attained, a meaner object of pursuit.*

* The monument of Urbin VIII. in St. Peter's, by Bernini, is a complete example of the style of Rubens, in marble; than which, it would not be easy to point out a more remarkable instance of bad taste. Roubilliac, who was a sculptor in this country of acknowledged merit, has also the defect of endeavouring to make his art subservient to imitation, below its character; but if he sought to be popular he obtained his object. The *silk* robe of his statue of Sir Isaac Newton, in the anti-chapel of Trinity College Cambridge, is more admired, by the many, than the Flora of the Capitol.

Dr. Johnson has observed in his life of Akenside, that a Physician is the mere play-thing of Fortune: those who employ him know nothing of his excellence, those who reject him, nothing of his deficiency. This observation will apply with nearly the same force to an eminent Sculptor: his art, if it be of the highest quality, is of too abstract a nature to admit of popularity. Among the most eminent Sculptors of the present time, Canova has the highest reputation; his name is sounded with acclamation and praise, from the one end of Europe to the other; and England has willingly added to this general tribute. But such is the caprice of fortune,

Architecture does not acquire the name of a polite and liberal art, from its useful-

that while every nobleman and every man of taste joins in the most unqualified praise of the modern Praxiteles, a more eminent sculptor of our own country, not long dead, was neglected while living, and is now forgotten. The *Connoisseur* and the *Dilettante* may be shocked when he is recalled to their recollection. Without having the remotest wish in any degree to diminish the fame of the Italian sculptor, I assert, without fear of contradiction, from those who think for themselves, that on a parallel of their works, I shall be supported. The colossal statue of Achilles lamenting Patroclus, in the Hall of the British Gallery, is original, and grandly conceived, and modelled with a power that leaves every modern work at a distance, and the character and expression of the head would have done honour to the ancients.

The Mahratta Captive in General Watson's monument in Westminster Abbey, and the figure of Victory in the Monument of Captain Burgess in St. Paul's, have a purity of style and delicacy of feeling which Greece in her best age might have acknowledged without any diminution of reputation. By this artist a group of Thetis dipping Achilles in the Styx, is a most beautiful composition, and of the same character as the fine antique. His falling Giant, in the Royal Academy, is a bold conception and a masterly example of style and execution. His statue of Cupid taking a butterfly off his wing is a very graceful figure. In basso-relievo, his Thetis rising with her Nymphs to console Achilles, supported on the shore

ness, or administering to our wants and necessities, but from a higher principle,

by Antiochus, is an extraordinary composition, and not only surpasses every thing modern, but rivals every thing ancient of the same class. I know of no work extant which possesses so much originality and harmonious combination, poetical feeling, energy, and taste. This is one of those felicitous productions, that if a parallel were drawn between poetry and sculpture might rank with the *Comus* of Milton. Mr. Banks's busts of Hastings and Oliver Cromwell may also be mentioned to shew the range of his genius and the extent of his powers in his art.

To compare his Achilles with the colossal figures of Herculean character by Canova, might appear to be invidious, as this style of sculpture is not his line of excellence, and his basso-relievos are not eminently skilful. His figure of Genius in St. Peter's, his Magdalen, and his group of Cupid and Psyche, which was executed after a design by Tresham, are among his best productions ; and although they possess much grace and elegance, yet, even in this line of sculpture, they are at a distance from the *Mahratta* Captive, the *Victory*, and the *Thetis*, already mentioned. Mr. Banks's Cupid taking a butterfly off his wing and a recumbent figure of the deceased daughter of Sir Brook Boothby, which is admirable for its simplicity and pathos, might, if the sculptor were not known, be considered as among the happiest productions of Canova ; they are in his style and manner, with the same feeling, and possess the same powers of execution. In sculpture, as in other arts, men have their

that of inspiring sentiment, and of filling the mind with great and sublime ideas. Grecian architecture claims dominion over our feelings by unity of design and conformity of character, where all the parts compose a whole, without confusion or discordance, and *chiar'-oscuro* unites them, to make one entire impression on the senses. Thus the principles of Greek architecture will remain for ever, and the works of Francesco Borromini will serve to shew, how the greatest science and knowledge may be misapplied.*

SCULPTURE, Michael Angelo considered

limits of excellence, and Canova has grace, and beauty, and elegance; the severe, and majestic, he has not. For the honour of the art and for his own high reputation, I am one of those who sincerely wish that his fame were even greater than it is. This note is only to call to mind the memory of an English artist on whose merit the public has never bestowed due attention, and whose works have never received the praise they are justly entitled to.

* Vide the church of the *Sapienza*, and *S. Carlino alle quattro Fontane*, in Rome; with an infinite number of his works in that city, in the same style.

as his profession, and his studies throughout his whole life were more particularly directed to it, than to painting or to architecture. His first work of celebrity was a group of a Madonna with a dead Christ, called in Italian *la Pietà*. The subject in its nature is impressive, and the composition is felt with appropriate simplicity; and of all his works, it is that which seems to have cost him the most laborious attention.

When this group was finished it was universally admired; but the Virgin was thought to be too young for the figure of Christ, and Condivi has given Michael Angelo's reasoning on that remark, which is thus recorded by that author:—"Talking one day to Michael Angelo on that appearance, he answered, "Don't you know that women who are chaste preserve their beauty and youthful character much longer than those who are not; how much more then, must the immaculate Virgin be supposed to have preserved her beauty who cannot be suspected to have had an unchaste thought? and this is only according

to the order of nature; but why may we not suppose, in this particular case, that nature might be assisted by divine interposition, to demonstrate to the world the virginity and perpetual purity of the Mother? This was not necessary in the Son, nay rather the contrary, since Divine Omnipotence was willing to shew, that the Son of God would take upon him, as he did, the body of man, with all his earthly infirmities except that of sin; and therefore it was not necessary for me to make the human subordinate to the divine character, but to consider it in the ordinary course of nature under the actual existing circumstances. Hence you ought not to wonder, that from such a consideration, I should make the most holy Virgin-mother of God, in comparison to the Son, much younger than would otherwise be required, and that I should have represented the Son at his proper age."

This group is finished in every part with the greatest care, and is less bold in the execution than any of his subsequent

works ; afterwards, his execution was bold and decisive, and the facility of his hand kept pace with the vigour of his mind.

The statue of Moses, in S. Pietro in Vincola, is a complete example of those comprehensive powers, which in different degrees, are found to pervade all his works. In the countenance is a dignified strength of expression, and the air and attitude of the figure are in unison with the same grandeur of character ; and although it has many defects, if compared with the highest examples of antiquity ; yet, regarding it as a certain grand majestic character of nature, there is nothing modern of equal merit for elevation, for unity of idea, and the most consummate knowledge of the figure.

The figures of DAY, and EVENING, in the monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici are in the same style of conception, but were left unfinished : the MADONNA in the same room is composed with

feeling and simplicity, and the statue of Lorenzo de' Medici, in his monument, is simple and majestic. The two statues of prisoners or slaves which were to have composed part of the original monument of Julius II. now in the National Museum in Paris, are equal to his best productions, if credit may be given to the admiration of Falconet, who, when he first saw them, said, " J'ai vu Michelange; *Il est effrayant.*" and Condivi, speaking of them, says, "*Chi vedutigli ha giudica, non esser giammai stata fatta cosa più digna.*" These statues I have never seen. The DAVID in Florence is a less successful effort of his genius; the ideal beauty of the ancients depending on purity and correctness of form, with Michael Angelo, was always subordinate to his own conception of grandeur. The CHRIST in the church *sopra Minerva* in Rome, I cannot now speak of with any critical accuracy, but I recollect that it did not impress me with that purity and sublimity of design which I thought the subject demanded.

With Michael Angelo expression and character were a primary consideration; and although he set the antique sculpture before him as an example and a guide, this marked distinction is to be taken between his view of the subject and that of the ancients. He made ideal beauty and *form* subservient to expression; they, on the contrary, made expression and animation subservient to *form*. The Laocoön¹ and his two Sons have more expression in their countenance than all the other antique statues united; yet Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed, that even in this instance,

¹ The Laocoön is finished with the chisel, shewing an incredible command of execution; but in Rome I once heard a very eminent sculptor say, that he believed the statue had been previously finished with the rasp and file, and that the marks of the chisel were made afterwards, to give the appearance of facility to the execution, and at the same time a roughness to the surface, which was more favourable to the general effect of the figure than if it had been left quite smooth. If the statue had been brought down to this surface at once, he said, the dexterity of the artist was more wonderful than anything he knew of in sculpture.

there is only the general expression of pain, and that the pain is still more strongly expressed by the writhing and contortion of the body, than by the features. In consulting all the examples which are left of ancient sculpture, it would seem, they established it as a general principle, that to preserve the most perfect beauty, in its most perfect state, the passions were not to be expressed; all of which may be supposed, in some degree, to produce distortion and deformity in the features of the face. The group of the Boxers is a remarkable instance in favour of this opinion; they are engaged in the most animated action with the greatest serenity of countenance; and without attributes, it would be difficult to discriminate between the Juno or the Minerva, the Bacchus or the Meleager; nevertheless, in the Apollo Pythius there is a graceful, negligent, and animated air, and in the Discobulus a vulgar eagerness of expression, which deserves to be remarked, to shew the nice discrimination of character which the ancients were

capable of making, when the expression was not incompatible with what they considered as a higher excellence.

The Bacchus of Michael Angelo is an attempt to unite a degree of drunkenness with his character; but, in as much as that effect is produced, both the sculpture and the deity are degraded: of this character there are several examples in antique gems, but however skilful the representation may be in so small a size as a gem, it is certainly not a fit subject for a statue of the proportion of life. The two female figures composing part of the present monument of Julius II. are simple and elegant; and those of MORNING and NIGHT in the Lorenzo Chapel, are composed, with great grandeur of design.

The works of Michael Angelo have always a strong and marked character of their own, his thoughts are elevated, and his figures are conceived with dignity; and if he wants the purity and correctness of the antique, which he certainly does, in an

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eminent degree; his faults never degrade him into feebleness; when he is not sublime he is not insipid, the sentiment of aggrandizing his subject ever prevails, and however he may fail in the execution, his works are still entitled to the first rank among modern productions in sculpture. Barry has truly observed, when speaking of his statue of Moses, that although that figure may be considered as rather extravagant, yet it contains such proofs of knowledge and capacity as will ever make his name sacred among artists; and this criticism may be extended with equal propriety to his other works, whatever may be their faults.

Michael Angelo was educated as a sculptor, and his knowledge and practice of painting were regulated by the principles of that art. This is an essential consideration for those who judge of his abilities as a painter. The earliest picture of his that is known, is the Holy Family in the Gallery in Florence: it is low in tone, and what an English painter would call monotonous in its

effect of *chiar'-oscuro*; but as he considered the art of painting as embracing little more than what may be obtained by sculpture; design and composition were the chief objects of his attention; if more, therefore, is not performed, more ought not to be expected. Sir Joshua Reynolds observes, "that Michael Angelo, as a painter, did not possess so many excellencies as Raffaello, but those he had were of the highest kind." The style of painting which in modern language is called *picturesque*, was then unknown; and if painting at that time did not possess those ornamental graces which are derived from *chiar'-oscuro*, neither was design or composition ever sacrificed to them.

Sculpture and architecture have suffered from the capricious fancy of making them picturesque, from the end of the sixteenth century, when the term was invented; subsequently to this period the picturesque was the leading principle of attraction: marble was made to represent silk and serge, and varied stuffs; and the nudities of Bernini

were esteemed most perfect, when most like the pictures of Rubens. In architecture we are indebted to this new principle for the great popularity of the works of Borromini, whose name has been before mentioned. In S. Romolo in Florence, the capitals of columns are placed at the bottom of the shaft; in Germany, Caryatides are sometimes represented as drunken men supporting an entablature upon flowers and fruits carried on their heads: and England has not been free from the contagion, where lions and heraldic chimeras are occasionally introduced to enrich Grecian architecture; and even Indoo and Roman architecture are sometimes united, to produce a picturesque effect.²

In painting, the great work on which Michael Angelo's fame depends, and, taking it for all in all, the greatest work of his whole life, is the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. With respect to the colouring of this assemblage of pictures, there is little

² The steeple of the church of St. Ann's, Soho, in London, is of this description.

attention to variety of tints ; a simplicity pervades the whole, and breadth is produced by an arrangement of colours, rather low in tone, without any violence of contrast ; and the general effect is grand, and harmonious, though not that refined and rich harmony which is produced by a variety of colours ; neither is the whole work enfeebled or confused by any minute attention to the discrimination of drapery. With Michael Angelo the clothing was of no particular stuff, it was only drapery ; and all the attention that is here employed, is in folding and disposing of it in such a manner as to contribute to the grandeur of the design.

It is in the Sistine Chapel where the poetical and sublime conceptions of Michael Angelo are fully shewn, and where his genius and imagination are most expanded. The style and cast of the figures have nothing of common nature, but a character of grandeur peculiar to themselves, proceeding solely from his own mind ; and his Sibyls and Prophets exhibit its colossal powers ; yet great as is the display

of invention, which he has there shewn, and which is to be seen through the whole of the ceiling, no part exhibits, or more strikingly marks, the range of his genius, than the smaller domestic compositions in the lunettes, where, to the most homely, and familiar scenes, he has given an air of greatness, without extravagance or diminution of their natural simplicity, in a style which defies competition. Whether there was any regularly digested plan of Theocracy in this assemblage of pictures is not known, and no contemporary supplies us with any information. A modern Professor of Painting has suggested an ingenious theory upon that subject:³ but, whatever

³ Speaking of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he observes, " Its subject is Theocracy, or the empire of religion, considered as the parent and queen of man; the origin, the progress, and final dispensation of Providence, as taught by the sacred records. Amid this imagery of primeval simplicity, whose sole object is the relation of the race to its Founder, to look for minute discrimination of character, is to invert the principle of the artist's invention: here is only God with man. The veil of eternity is rent; time, space, and matter teem in the creation of the elements and of earth; life issues

may have been Michael Angelo's original plan, that which is at present within the sphere of our comprehension, sufficiently serves to demonstrate, that his genius was vast and sublime.

The next work he executed in painting, after a lapse of thirty years, was the cele-

from God and adoration from man, in the creation of Adam and his mate ; transgression of the precept at the tree of knowledge proves the origin of evil, and of expulsion from the immediate intercourse with God ; the economy of justice and grace commences in the revolutions of the Deluge, and the covenant made with Noah and the germs of social character are traced in the subsequent scene between him and his sons ; the awful synod of prophets and Sibyls are the heralds of the Redeemer ; and the host of patriarchs the pedigree of the Son of Man ; the brazen serpent and the fall of Haman, the giant subdued by the stripling in Goliath and David, and the conqueror destroyed by female weakness in Judith, are types of his mysterious progress, till Jonah pronounces him immortal ; and the magnificence of the last judgment by shewing the Saviour in the judge of man, sums up the whole, and reunites the founder and the race." *Lectures on Painting delivered at the Royal Academy, 1801, 4to.*

brated Last Judgment in the same chapel. From contemporary writers it would seem the public admiration of this picture was equal, if not superior, to that which had been bestowed upon the ceiling: the commendation of Varchi and Vasari is limited only by their want of higher terms to express the enthusiasm of their feelings. They are not, however, peculiar in wishing that the abilities of their friend should appear to have increased with declining years; and as this was the most important of his latter works; it is easy to account for their representing it as the most perfect.

Amidst such an assemblage of figures, some groups may reasonably be expected more admirable than others, more justly conceived, or more happily executed: and it cannot be denied, that there are many parts which shew the plenitude of Michael Angelo's talents: yet, upon the whole, comparing him with himself, stupendous as it is, it rather marks the decline than the acmé of his genius. The satire of Salvator Rosa is well known; and though put into

the mouth of the critic Biagio Martinelli, yet it appears not to be wholly unfounded:

Michel' Angiolo mio, non parlo in gioco;

Questo che dipingete è un gran Giudizio:

Ma, del giudizio voi n' avete poco.

In addition to his adopting the unphilosophical notions of the darker ages, to comply with the vulgar prejudices of his time, he has also injudiciously added some needless embellishments of his own. But the most serious exception made to the general composition by his contemporaries, was that of violating decorum, in representing so many figures without drapery. The first person who made this objection was the Pope's Master of the Ceremonies already mentioned, who, on seeing the picture when three parts finished, and being asked his opinion, he told his Holiness that it was more fit for a brothel than the Pope's chapel. This circumstance caused Michael Angelo to introduce his portrait into the picture with ass's ears: and not overlooking the duties of his temporal office, he represented him as Master of the Cere-

monies in the lower world, ordering, and directing the disposal of the damned; and, to heighten the character, he is entwined with a serpent, Dantè's attribute of Minos.

———— There Minos stands
 Grinning with ghastly feature : he, of all
 Who enter, strict examining the crimes,
 Gives sentence, and dismisses them beneath,
 According as he wraps himself around :
 For when before him comes th' ill-fated soul,
 It all confesses ; and that judge severe
 Of sins, considering what place in hell
 Suits the transgression, with his tail so oft
 Himself encircles, as degree beneath
 He dooms it to descend. — *

It is recorded, that the Monsignore petitioned the Pope to have this portrait taken

* Stavvi Minos orribilmente, e ringhia :
 Esamina le colpe nell' entrata,
 Giudica e manda, secondo ch' avvinghia.

Dico, che quando l'anima mal nata
 Li vien dinanzi ; tutta si confessa :
 E quel conoscitor delle peccata

Vede qual luogo d'Inferno è da essa ;
 Cignesi con la coda tante volte
 Quantunque gradi vuol, che giù sia messa.

INFERNO, Canto V.

out of the picture, and that of the painter put in its stead ; to which the Pope is said to have replied, " Had you been placed in Purgatory, there might have been some remedy, but from Hell '*nulla est redemptio.*' " This portrait still remains.

How far true criticism would condemn the principle upon which these objections are founded, may be deduced from the pleasure mankind have constantly received, from the most cultivated æra of Greece to the present time, in the Apollo, the Venus, the Laocoön, or the Gladiator ; and it can hardly be a question whether any person who ever saw these statues could wish to see them clothed with drapery. It must be admitted, however, that an indiscriminate application of one character of muscular form and proportion, makes the whole picture rather an assemblage of academic figures, than a well studied, historical composition.

Another objection made to the general design, by critics less prejudiced, is, the

introduction of a boat to convey the condemned souls to their place of torment; the idea being manifestly borrowed from pagan theology.⁵

The objection would seem to be well founded; but when it is considered how slightly this subject is touched in revealed religion, and how much is left to the imagination, the painter may perhaps be excused for following the example of the poets; and while the Centaurs and Sphingi of Tasso, and the Gorgons and Hydras of Milton, are tolerated in the greatest epic poems of the Christian world, I shall offer no apology for the Charon of Dantè and Michael Angelo.

From the high character and notoriety

⁵ The boatman in this part of the composition is designed from the Inferno of Dantè.

———— Charon, demoniac form,
With eyes of burning coal, collects them all,
Beck'ning, and each, that lingers, with his oar
Strikes.——

Canto III. INFERNO. *Cary's Translation.*

of the Last Judgment, the amateur might expect at first view, to receive the strongest and most sensible impressions, but in this composition the means best calculated for that end are least attended to. The mind is divided and distracted by the want of a concentrating principle of effect; and the prevailing hue of colour is of too low a tone, to be impressive; added to which, it is partially damaged and obscured with smoke, and is therefore now, most probably, seen to much less advantage, than when originally painted.

In Michael Angelo's great works his superior abilities are shewn in the sublimity of his conceptions, and the power and facility with which they are executed: correctness, in the usual acceptation of the word, was not his great object; and, in this picture in particular, his knowledge of the human figure is not shewn by attention to aggregate beauty, or any refinement of proportion. Lord Shaftesbury has remarked, "that the greatest of the ancient as well as modern Artists in Statuary and

Painting, were ever inclined to follow this rule of Aristotle, that, τὸ καλὸν, the beautiful, or the sublime, in these arts, is from the expression of Greatness with Order : and when they erred in their designs, it was on the side of Greatness, by running into the unsizable or gigantic, rather than into the minute and delicate. Of this Michael Angelo, the great beginner and founder among the moderns, and Zeuxis⁶ among the ancients, may serve as instances.” This remark is well founded, and the picture of the Last Judgment is a good illustration of it. Whilst the Prophets and Sibyls in the vault of the Sistine Chapel are ideal to the utmost verge of sublimity, those perfect Beings which have a place in the celestial regions, are all copies of imperfect nature, and in FORM only elevated into grandeur

⁶ The resemblance between these eminent artists was so remarkable, that it would almost seem as if Quintilian wrote of Michael Angelo, instead of Zeuxis, when he said, “ Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius atque augustius ratus, atque, (ut existimant) Homerum secutus, cui validissima quæque forma etiam in feminis placet.” *Quint. Inst. Or. lib. xii. cap. 10.*

by partaking of the style and character of the Torso.

The two large pictures of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Martyrdom of St. Peter conclude his labours in painting, and although they do not equal his former works, they shew the powers of the master; but they are now very much injured by time, and damp from the walls on which they are painted.

These works of which I have spoken are painted in fresco, except the Holy Family in the Gallery in Florence, which, according to Abbate Lanzi, is executed *a tempera*; we have therefore no example of oil painting by Michael Angelo. The portrait he copied when a child, and smoked, to give it the appearance of the original, is the only circumstance to be met with of the probability of his having used oil colours at any period of his life. It has been commonly said he treated oil painting with contempt, which admits of the ornamental style to a greater

extent than fresco painting, and that he thought it an employment fit only for women and children. As this sentiment has been received from Vasari's time, to our own, with little discrimination, or enquiry into the cause which gave rise to it, the following account may not be without its interest.

Sebastiano del Piombo is well known to have been a great favourite with Michael Angelo, and from the assistance he gave him upon all occasions, he has been numbered amongst his scholars. He made many designs for him which he painted in oil. For the church of S. Francesco in Viterbo, he painted a picture of the Virgin and a dead Christ, and another of the scourging of Christ, for S. Pietro in Montorio, in Rome, both from designs by Michael Angelo; but of the latter, Vasari adds, it was thought, that he also drew with his own hand the outline of the Christ in the picture itself, from the great difference between the style of that figure and

the rest of the composition.' With these works Michael Angelo was well satisfied; but, from circumstances not explained, Sebastiano used his influence with Paul III. to have the Last Judgment painted in oil colours. This conduct gave him offence,

“ Nè tacerò, che molti credono, Michelagnolo avere non solo fatto il piccolo disegno di quest' opera, ma che il Cristo detto, che è battuto alla colonna, fusse contornato da lui, per essere grandissima differenza fra la pontà di questa, e quella dell' altre figure.” See ILLUS. DESIGN. XII. XIII.

Sebastiano also painted a picture of the Resurrection of Lazarus, under the direction of Michael Angelo, who corrected the design in some places; but there is no evidence that the composition was made by him, or that he executed any part of the picture. “ Sebastiano fece una tavola della medesima grandezza della Trasfigurazione di Cristo, quasi a concorrenza di Raffaello, un Lazzaro quattriduano, e la sua resurrezione, la quale fu contraffatta, e depinta con diligenza grandissima, sotto ordine, e disegno in alcune parti di Michelagnolo; le quali tavole finite, furono amendue pubblicamente in concistoro poste in paragone, e l' una, e l' altra lodata infinitamente. E benchè le cose di Raffaello, per l' estrema grazia, e bellezza loro, non avessero pari, furono nondimeno anche le fatiche di Sebastiano universalmente lodate da ognuno.” *Vita di Sebastiano Veneziano*, tom. iii. p. 471.

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and he declared, that he would not paint the picture, unless it were to be painted in fresco. Notwithstanding this declaration, Sebastiano prepared the wall for oil colours, and Michael Angelo gave himself no further concern about it. Some months elapsed, when he was again solicited to proceed with the undertaking: he then repeated, with warmth, his former declaration, and said, that unless the plaster were all taken down, and the work to be executed in fresco, he would have nothing to do with it; that oil painting was fit only for women, and those who were luxurious and idle; or, in other words, such as did not feel the excellencies of the highest style of the art, or were too lazy to practise it; which was the case of Fra. Sebastiano. The preparations were then ordered to be destroyed, and the work was executed by Michael Angelo in fresco agreeably to the original intention.

That Michael Angelo had a correct opinion and a just value for oil painting, there is sufficient evidence in the approba-

tion he gave to Fra. Sebastiano himself, to Jacopo da Puntormo,* and to Marcello Venusti,* who painted many of his designs in oil, and never in any other process: and his observations upon Titian after visiting him in the Vatican, while he was painting the Danaë, will shew, if properly considered, that he neither disdained nor undervalued the merit of that mode of

* Jacopo da Puntormo painted from the designs of Michael Angelo a composition of a Venus and Cupid, and Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the garden, than which, he said, no one could have executed them better. Of this artist, when Michael Angelo was shewn a picture of his, at nineteen years of age, he said, This young man, from what is to be seen in this specimen, if he lives, and proceeds, he will be able to place the art in Heaven. “Questo giovane sarà, anco tale, per quanto si vede, che se vive, e seguita, porrà quest’ arte in cielo.” *Vita di Jacopo da Puntormo*, tom. iii. p. 645. 662. See ILLUS. DESIGN. XIV.

* Marcello Venusti made numerous small pictures from the designs of Michael Angelo; he also made a small copy of the Last Judgment, now in the possession of the king of Naples: for Messer Tommaso de’ Cavaliere he painted a picture of the Annunciation for the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, from Michael Angelo’s design. *Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 454. See ILLUS. DESIGN. IV. &c.

painting. This visit was made in company with Vasari, who says, "After we left Titian, Michael Angelo passed very high commendation on what he had seen, and said, that his colouring pleased him exceedingly; but it was a pity that the Venetian painters did not ground themselves well in a correct knowledge of drawing in their youth, and adopt a better mode of study; with those advantages this man might have been as eminent in design as he is true to nature, and masterly in counterfeiting the life, and then, nothing could be desired better or more perfect; for he has an exquisite perception, and a delightful spirit and manner."¹ This feeling corresponds in a high degree with the opinion of the greatest colourist our country has produced, who regrets he had not himself trod in those steps which Michael Angelo here points out;² although Sir Joshua Reynolds

¹ *V. Vita di Titiano Veccelli*, tom. ii. p. 386.

² "If the high esteem and veneration in which Michael Angelo has been held by all nations and in all ages, should be put to the account of prejudice, it must still be granted that those prejudices could not have been entertained

entertained some doubts, whether the fascinating perfection of the Venetian style could be perfectly united with the simplicity, and grandeur of the Roman school.

In one of his admirable discourses delivered to the Academy, he observes, that, "however great the difference is between the composition of the Venetian and the rest of the Italian schools, there is full as great a disparity in the effect of their pictures as produced by colours. And though in this respect the Venetians must be allowed extraordinary skill, yet even that skill, as they have employed it, will but ill correspond with the

without a cause: the ground of our prejudice then becomes the source of our admiration. But from whatever it proceeds, or whatever it is called, it will not, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to appear in the train, I cannot say of his imitators, but of his admirers. I have taken another course, one more suited to my abilities, and to the taste of the times in which I live. Yet however unequal I feel myself to that attempt, were I now to begin the world again, I would tread in the steps of that great master: to kiss the hem of his garment, to catch the slightest of his perfections, would be glory and distinction enough, for an ambitious man." *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. ii. p. 216.

great style. Their colouring is not only too brilliant, but, I will venture to say, too harmonious to produce that solidity, steadiness, and simplicity of effect, which heroic subjects require, and which simple or grave colours only, can give to a work." Sir Joshua, also, in his commendation of Ludovico Carracci, whom he considered as approaching the nearest to perfection as a painter, says, that his unaffected breadth of light-and-shadow and simplicity of colouring which holds its proper rank, does not, in his best works, draw aside the least part of the attention from the subject, and the solemn effect of that twilight which seems diffused over his pictures, appears to correspond with grave and dignified subjects, better than the more artificial brilliancy of sunshine which enlightens the pictures of Titian.*

Fresco painting was a process more adapted to Michael Angelo's monumental style of composition, which, as it excluded

* *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. i. p. 39. This opinion is amplified in a variety of instances in his literary works.

attention to minute elegancies, was more favourable to grandeur of design, and it is on this process that Sir Joshua Reynolds very justly observes, "the fame of the greatest masters depends: such are the pictures of Michael Angelo and Raffaello in the Vatican; to which we may add the Cartoons; which, though not strictly to be called fresco, yet may be put under that denomination; and such are the works of Giulio Romano at Mantua. If these performances were destroyed, with them would be lost the best part of the reputation of those illustrious painters; for these are justly considered as the greatest efforts of our art which the world can boast. To these, therefore, we should principally direct our attention for higher excellencies. As for the lower arts, as they have been once discovered, they may be easily attained by those possessed of the former.*

* It is worthy of observation, that in the corner of the picture of the Last Judgment, where Charon and the Demons are painted, there is an evident attempt at glazing, and the only instance I have ever seen in fresco painting. This was the last part of the picture finished,

“ The poetical part of the Art, Michael Angelo possessed in a most eminent degree, and the same daring spirit which urged him first to explore the unknown regions of the imagination, impelled him forward in his career beyond those limits which his followers, destitute of the same incentives, had not strength to pass. He was the bright luminary from whom painting has borrowed a new lustre, under whose hands it assumed a new appearance, and became another and superior art, and from whom all his contemporaries and successors have derived whatever they have possessed of the dignified and majestic.”^s

and here Michael Angelo seems to have made some experiments in colouring; for the head, which is represented by Plate IX. in the collection of Heads from the Last Judgment, in atlas folio, published in 1801, is painted with a thick coat of colour, as if wax had been employed, and with the greatest clearness and brilliancy; and the head of the Monsignore is treated with great freedom and apparent facility of execution.

^s *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. ii. p. 197.

As Sir Joshua Reynolds may be ranked among the most enthusiastic admirers of Michael Angelo, it has been a subject of difficult explanation to common minds

About the time when Michael Angelo finished his labours in painting there was a controversy in Florence among the amateurs, whether, of the two arts, Painting or

to account for his unbounded admiration of a man whose works are so different from his own: but imitation in the vulgar sense of the term is not to be sought for in any of Sir Joshua's works; Michael Angelo, like Dr. Johnson, taught him to think, and it was not by imitation, but by contemplating the principles of the great masters, that his own works became elevated above those of his contemporaries. The style of Michael Angelo and the powers of his mind he endeavoured to apply to his own practice, and he appears to have been constantly before him in his imagination. In his familiar and playful subjects he has given an air of graceful dignity by having Michael in his mind. A Lady of Fashion playing with her Child upon her knee; his Charity in the Oxford Window; Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse; his Count Ugolino, originally designed as a captive;—all find their prototype in the lunettes of the Sistine Chapel: and the portrait of Dr. Johnson in profile has an air of sublimity from appearing to possess the same sentiment as Michael Angelo's Christ in the Garden. It was from constantly thinking of Michael Angelo that he dignified his own style; it was from considering how he would have treated the same subject, of whatsoever nature it might be, that gave a tension to his thoughts, and roused his powers to more elevated conceptions.

Sculpture, was the most noble ; or, in other words, which required the most talent and genius ; and Michael Angelo was applied to by Messer Benedetto Varchi for his opinion, which he gave in the following letter.

To M. BENEDETTO VARCHI.

“ As I have received your little book, I will say a few words on the subject of your enquiry, though incompetent to the task. Of the relative importance of Painting and Sculpture, I think Painting excellent in proportion as it approaches relievo, and relievo bad in proportion as it partakes of the character of a picture, and therefore I was used to be of opinion, that Painting might be considered as borrowing light from Sculpture, and the difference between them as the sun and moon. Now, however, since I have read your dissertation, which treats the subject philosophically, and shews, that those things which have the same end, are one, and the same, I have changed my opinion, and say, that, if greater judgment,

labour, difficulty, and impediment, confer no dignity on the work on which it is bestowed, Painting and Sculpture may be considered without giving pre-eminence to either: and since it has been so considered, no painter ought to undervalue sculpture, and in like manner no sculptor ought to make light of painting.

“ The sculptor arrives at his end by taking away what is superfluous: the painter produces his, by adding the materials, which embody the representation to the mind: however, after all, they are both produced by the same intelligence, and the superiority is not worth disputing about, since more time may be lost in the discussion, than would produce the works themselves. If he who has decided that painting is more noble than sculpture, had written no better on other subjects, any house-maid would have deserved more attention. There are an infinite number of ideas that might be started upon similar subjects, which have never yet been discussed; but, as I have already observed, they would occupy too

much time, and as I am not only old, but, as it were numbered with the dead, I have little to spare, therefore I hope you will excuse me, and accept my humble thanks for the too great honour you have done me, of which I feel myself so little deserving.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

IN ARCHITECTURE, it does not appear that Michael Angelo ever received regular instruction from any professional man, but derived his information from his own study, and the use of books; nor did he consider architecture as his profession; on that account, when Paul III. appointed him to succeed San Gallo in the building of St. Peter's, he repeatedly refused to accept the appointment.⁶ The first instance that occurs of his being employed as an architect, is by Leo X. to build the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence, but of which, as I have before observed, there was little or nothing done during his ponti-

⁶ *Condivi*, § LXI.

ficatē. By Clement VII. he was commissioned to build the Laurentian library, and what was denominated the new sacristy; and a mausoleum for the Medici family, called the Cappella de' Medici, neither of which, from the unsettled state of affairs in Italy, was completed till the close of his life; nevertheless, as they were executed from his original designs, they may, with propriety, be considered as his earliest works in Architecture. In the new sacristy are the monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici.⁷

The Chapel de' Medici is an octagonal room, richly incrustēd with jasper, oriental agate, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, &c. to receive the remains of the Sovereign Dukes of Florence. One of the eight sides is occupied by an Altar, and another with the entrance door: the six remaining sides have each a sarcophagus, similar in form, to those which support the recumbent figures in the new sacristy; four are made

⁷ This new sacristy is also called the Chapel of the Princes.

of Egyptian, and two of oriental granite, and over them, semicircular niches adapted to receive large whole-length statues; two only are occupied, but inscriptions are placed under each, to mark respectively to whom they belong.* This room has nothing to recommend it, but its great labour and expense. The style of the tombs is extremely heavy, and their grandeur is destroyed, by making the general form, subservient to useless mouldings, and ponderous scrolls.

The Laurentian library is a gallery about an hundred and fifty feet long, and thirty-five feet wide, and may be considered as a plain room, adapted to the purpose for which it was intended;† to this there is a

* COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. I. VIX. ANN. LV. OB. IX. KAL. MAII 1574.

FRANCISCUS MAG. DUX. ETR. II. VIX. AN. 46. OB. 19 OCT. 1587.

FERDINANDUS MAG. DUX. ETR. III. VIX. ANN. 60. OB. 7 FEB. 1609.

COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. IV. VIX. ANN. 30. OB. 26. FEB. 1621.

FERDINANDUS MAG. DUX. ETR. V. VIX. ANN. 59. OB. IX. KAL. JUN. 1670.

COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. VI. VIX. ANN. 81. OB. 31 OCT. 1723.

† This library, before the French revolution, was said to contain 14,800 MSS. among which were the celebrated copy of the Pandects of Justinian, found at Amalfi about

kind of anti-room crowded with architectural decoration, in a style exceedingly bad, with compound pediments and coupled columns let into the wall, to support nothing. In the antiquities of Rome I am aware that there are two examples of columns placed in niches, the one called the Sepolcro di Pesone Liciniano, on the Via Appia; and the other in a brick temple out of the Porta Latina, called, Il Tempio delle Camene, where the columns are octagonal; but no authority can authorize such a violation of principle, unless in an extreme case, where some variety may be wanted in a massive and extended wall, to produce an effect so as to harmonize it with the general style of the building of which it makes a part.

Among the architectural designs of St. Peter's published in Bonanni's History, the

the year 1130; a Latin Bible of the sixth, and a Virgil of the fifth century, in which the four first verses beginning, *Ille ego qui quondam*, do not begin the *Æneid*; but *Arma virumque cano*, agreeably to the opinion of the best commentators.

section by Michael Angelo is grand.* To criticise St. Peter's with any accuracy, would require that all the parts should be considered, as well as the whole; but without plans, elevations, and sections, it would not be possible to make any minute criticism intelligible.

Without attempting to define the different causes which make an impression of sublimity on the mind, in a work of architecture, it is acknowledged, that succession and uniformity of parts, combined with greatness of dimension, contribute to that end. St. Peter's, however, as it has been constructed, with all the advantage of dimension in every way, is a remarkable instance how human ingenuity can be exercised in diminishing the effect of its own powers. Instead of the awful grandeur which might reasonably be expected from the magnitude of the building; splendour and variety divert the attention, its solemnity is lost in the diffusion of light, and its size apparently diminished by the

* See ILLUS. ARCHITECTURE. II.

PARTS occupying that attention which ought to be absorbed in the WHOLE; yet this last defect has been praised by Addison, Baron Stolberg, Lumisden, and other writers; and the disappointment universally produced, by its apparent want of magnitude, has been attributed, by them, to the exactness of its proportions. If to impress the mind with grandeur and sublimity be desirable, that building must be defective which fritters away the attention of the beholder, however beautiful the parts may be of which it is composed. The ancient Pantheon is an example of the first authority, of what can be produced by a just feeling of the true principles of architecture. There, simplicity and grandeur are happily combined, though now comparatively seen in a ruined state; and however we may admire celebrated works, or cultivate a partiality for their defects, it is obvious that the architect of St. Peter's, if he had no other merit, would deserve but little praise for making the largest and most magnificent temple in the world, appear to

X

be less sublime than the original model of its dome.

The work of Michael Angelo in architecture entitled to the highest commendation, is the cortile of the Farnese palace, and the projecting cornice which surrounds the top on the exterior. It is, however, extremely difficult to say how much of this design belongs to him, and how much to San Gallo. Of the cortile we know that San Gallo carried it up to the first story, and that the construction of the rest was left to Michael Angelo in consequence of his death. Whether he altered the original design, adopted a new one, or adhered to the old, is uncertain; yet of this it is more than probable, that the building as it now is, was agreeable to his wishes, or he would not have constructed it. The cornice, and the general lines of the building, are such as might be expected from the character of Michael Angelo's mind.

The galleries on the Capitoline Hill are

complex, and far from being specimens of a good style. The Portia Pia, which was the simplest of three designs, and on which account Michael Angelo regretted its being adopted, is of itself a most unfortunate example of bad taste, and if the others possessed a greater variety of the same character, his reputation can suffer nothing by their loss. The prevailing notion in his mind, seems to have been variety, and novelty, and when Condivi bestows the most flattering encomium on the improved taste of his old age, he says, that he designed a palace for Julius III. the façade of which, was, “entirely original, not having embarrassed himself with the rules of his predecessors, either ancient or modern,” and Vasari informs us, that the Composite Order received such great perfection from him, that the other orders could not stand in comparison with it, and that he worked miracles wherever he put his hand.² This kind of praise is common to Varchi, and to the other panegyrists of his time; but those who know any thing of

² *Introduzione*, p. 24.

architecture, and the principles on which either beauty or grandeur depend, will neither be inclined to give the composite order so decided a preference, nor think more highly of the abilities of the architect who professedly departs from fundamental principles.

The remains of ancient architecture were but little understood. The chequered black and white marble of Brunelleschi, in the exterior of public buildings, was the fashion of his day, and whatever partook of novelty in its appearance had sufficient claims to public approbation. Notwithstanding his taste, and style of design were very little conformable to ancient simplicity, it was the misfortune of Michael Angelo to consider him as worthy of imitation.* Two

* When the Dome of the Medici chapel was terminating, Michael Angelo was complimented by his friends, that he had made the lantern more complicated than that by Brunelleschi in the Cathedral; to which he replied, "It is easy to make it different, but not better."

Correct taste with sound judgment, is, perhaps, the rarest quality of the human mind. Genius is common to every age; and learning and science, have more or less

years before Brunelleschi died Bramante was born, and, with a better regulated genius than any of his predecessors, he adopted principles more simple and solid, and endeavoured to tread in the steps of the Ancients. For Cardinal Wolsey he built a palace in Rome, which marks an improved taste: but a little chapel, erected in the cortile of the convent of S. Pietro in Montorio, where he has copied the temple at Tivoli, with some additions of his own, shews his sense of the superiority of that exquisite vestige of antiquity; although he appears not to have been able to finish his building with the same elegance of design; yet, with all its defects, it is now perhaps among the best specimens of modern architecture in Rome: but the person to whom

illumined every state of civilized society: but since the best age of Greece, it would be difficult to find the same happy combination of talents which then subsisted; a combination which subsequent invention has not been able to obliterate, nor criticism to reduce below the standard of excellence. The Façade of St. Peter's, erected by Maderni, is a striking example of the multiplication of parts, and prodigality of expense, to produce littleness.

Italy was most indebted for the improvement of public taste, was Michele San Michele, of Verona,⁵ whose works in his native city are as honourable to his name as those of Vicenza are to his successor, the great Andrea Palladio. The taste of Michael Angelo appears to have been misled by some previous associations which it would now be in vain to seek. In a letter addressed to a gentleman who had probably made some inquiries upon the subject of architecture, he has expressed this singular opinion: that ability in that art, depends upon a knowledge of the human figure, and more especially upon anatomy.

⁵ San Michele was born 1484, and died 1559. He was not only the best civil architect of his time, but he was the inventor of the modern system of fortification, of which Pagan, Blondel, Vauban, and others, availed themselves, to obtain that distinction which is attached to their names.

“ MOST REVEREND SIR,

“ WHEN a design in architecture has different parts, all equal, and of the same character, the decorations ought to be of one character also, and executed in the same style; and the same rule is to be observed in corresponding parts. But when the design is entirely changed, it is not only allowable, but necessary to change its decoration; and the same principle is to be observed in the parts which are meant to correspond: the architect, however, always having full liberty to choose for himself, in the first instance, the style of ornament best adapted to his purpose. The nose, for example, in the middle of the face does not depend upon the one eye, or upon the other; but it is necessary that the one hand should be like the other, and that both the eyes should correspond, as well with respect to each other, as to the parts of the face in which they are situated. It is also certain, *that the members of architecture have a reference to those of the human*

body, and he who does not understand the human figure, and particularly anatomy, can know nothing of the subject.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

It is evident from this letter that Michael Angelo theorized on some odd notions, on architecture, without duly considering the true principles which are best adapted in that art to make a lasting impression on the mind. To his talents as a military architect, the celebrated Vauban bears honourable testimony. When that engineer passed through Florence he made a plan of his fortification, and measured every part of it.

To judge of Michael Angelo as a poet, the reader must necessarily be referred to his works in their original language, and little else remains to me, than to point out those most important to his reputation. His poems were first collected by his nephew Leonardo Buonarroti, and published in the year 1623, by his great nephew Michael Angelo Buonarroti, whose poetical

works are well known to those who are conversant in Italian poetry, by his "La Fiera," a comedy, in twenty-five acts; and "La Tancia," a pastoral comedy which has given to his name a rank among the Tuscan literati.* Many sonnets and other compositions had been previously published by Giolito, and some were printed in his

* Of these literary compositions Baretti has given the following account.

"While the Academicians della Crusca were compiling their Dictionary, Michael Angelo Buonarroti il giovine writ a comedy in twenty-five acts, or rather five comedies following one another, entitled, *La Fiera*; or *The Mart*: in which he introduced very many people, each speaking of his own trade, in order to furnish the Academicians with common and vulgar words seldom to be met with in writers. This comedy was printed in Florence by Tartini e Franchi, 1726, in folio, with a multitude of notes by the learned Abbot Antonmaria Salvini.

"*La Tancia Commedia Rusticale*, by the same Buonarroti, was printed in Florence, by Cosimo Giunti, 1612, in quarto, and 1615 in octavo, and reprinted with the above *Fiera*, with notes by the same Salvini. *La Fiera* is in verse of different metres; *La Tancia* is in *Ottava Rima*, and in the dialect of the Florentine peasants; and in my opinion, is the best and most pleasing comedy in our language." *Baretti's Italian Library*, p. 122. London, 1757.

lifetime, and commented on with the most extravagant praise. Varchi, upon one of them, CXII. has been laboriously diffuse; and, from this letter, Michael Angelo appears to have felt himself much flattered by the compliment.'

To M. LUCA MARTINI.

" MAGNIFICENT M. LUCA,

" By the hand of M. Bartolommeo Bettini I have received your favour, with a commentary on one of my sonnets. The sonnet indeed is mine, but the commentary is from above, and is really admirable; not only according to my judgment, but according to the opinion of eminent men, and in particular that of M. Donato Giannotti,

⁷ In the year 1726, Bottari printed, in Florence, a second edition of Michael Angelo's poems in 12mo. with this title, *Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroto il vecchto, con una lezione di Benedetto Varchi, e due di Mario Guiducci sopra di esse.* In the year 1806, the author of this work reprinted, in London, a third edition, in 4to. subjoined as an Appendix to his *LIFE OF MICHAEL ANGELO*; and in 1807 a fourth edition was printed with a new edition of that work.

who is never tired of reading it, and who desires to be remembered to you. As for the sonnet, I know well enough what it is; but, be it what it may, I cannot conceal a little vain-glory in having been the occasion of so excellent and learned a commentary, which makes me feel an importance that does not belong to me: therefore I entreat you to make the returns that are due to so much esteem, respect, and politeness. I entreat you to do this, because I feel my own unworthiness: he that has reputation ought not tempt fortune, for it is better to be stationary than to fall from a height. I am old, and death has deprived me of juvenile thoughts; and he who does not know what old age is, let him have patience enough to wait its arrival, and then he will. Remember me to Varchi, as I have requested you; and, with the highest esteem and affection, I am, ever yours,

“MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

He was eighty-one years of age when he composed the sonnet alluded to, which he sent to Vasari, with many others, as the

production of his leisure hours, and the amusement of his old age.* On the authority of Condivi he applied himself to the perusal of the Italian Poets and Orators, and composed sonnets before the accession of Julius II. who, as I have already observed, immediately on his being advanced to the pontificate, sent for him to Rome, and employed him in public works : but it is probable that he wrote at very different periods, as subjects occurred to his mind, and as he felt disposed to imitate Petrarch. In some instances, he has been successful ; the love sonnet LXX. is written with great facility, and the two religious sonnets, one addressed to the Supreme Being, and the other to Our Saviour on the cross, shew that he felt the rhythm and poetical harmony of the Italian language.

The religious sonnet addressed to the Supreme Being strongly marks the devotional feeling of the author. This is a prose translation of it.

* This sonnet is introduced p. 196, and a translation of it.

“ My prayers will be sweet if thou lendest me virtue to make them worthy to be heard: my unfruitful soil cannot produce virtue of itself. Thou knowest the seed, and how to sow it, that will spring up in the mind to bring forth just and pious works: if THOU shewest not the hallowed path, no one by his own knowledge can follow thee. Pour thou into my mind the thoughts that may conduct me in thy holy steps, and endue me with a fervent tongue, that I may alway sing, and praise, and exalt thy glory.”

• Ben sarian dolci le preghiere mie,
Se virtù mi prestassi da pregarte:
Nel mio terreno infertil non è parte
Da produr frutto di virtù natie.
Tu il seme se' dell' opre giuste, e pie,
Che là germoglian dove ne fai parte:
Nessun proprio valor può seguitarte,
Se non gli mostri le tue belle vie.
Tu nella mente mia pensieri infondi,
Che producano in me sì vivi effetti,
Signor, ch' io segua i tuoi vestigi santi.
E dalla lingua mia chiari, e facondi
Sciogli della tua gloria ardenti detti,
Perche sempre io ti lodi, esalti, e canti.

The mode in which he composed his poetry I have had an opportunity of knowing from his MSS. of which I have seen many. They were written on loose scraps of paper, on which sketches and memoranda had been previously made: by the favour of the same gentleman to whom I have already acknowledged my obligation, I am enable to add a fac-simile of one of these compositions as it was originally written; and, as this poem is inserted in his printed works, it may be interesting to the curious to compare Michael Angelo's first thoughts with his various alterations, on committing the poem to the press.

AN ADDRESS TO OUR SAVIOUR ON THE
CROSS.

Scarco d' una importuna, e grave salma
Signore eterno, e dal mondo disciolto,
Qual fragil legno a te stanco mi volto
Dall' orribil procella in dolce calma.

Le spine, i chiodi, e l' una, e l' altra palma,
Col tuo benigno umil lacero volto
Prometton grazia di pentirsi molto,
E speme di salute alla trist' alma

Non miri con giustizia il divin lume.

Mio fallo, o l' oda il tuo sacro orecchio,

Nè in quel si volga il braccio tuo severo.

Tuo sangue lavi l' empio mio costume,

E più m' abbondi quanto io son più vecchio

Di pronta aita, e di perdono intero.

THE PRINTED POEM, OF WHICH THE ANNEXED FAC-SIMILE IS THE ORIGINAL COMPOSITION.

OHIME, ohime ch' io son tradito

Da' miei giorni fugaci, e pur lo specchio.

Non mente, s' amor proprio non l' appanna.

Ahi, che chi folle nel desir s' affanna,

Non s' accorgendo del tempo fuggito,

Si trova, come me, in un punto vecchio.

Nè mi sò ben pentir, nè m' apparecchio,

Nè mi consiglio con la morte appresso.

Nemico di me stesso,

Inutilmente pianti; e sospir verso;

Che non è danno pari al tempo perso.

Ohime, ohime, che pur pensando

A gli anni corsi, lasso, non ritrovo

Fra tanti un giorno che sia stato mio.

Le fallaci speranze, e 'l van desio,

Piangendo, amando, ardendo, e sospirando

(Ch' affetto alcun mortal non m' è più nuovo)

M' hanno tenuto, ora il conosco, e provo,

E dal vero, e dal ben sempre lontano.

Io parto ammano ammano,

o ilme o ilme
dag uor ni
che luer
Cosi nam
Come fact
si truoua
no m pe
no mi Co
no mico
muel
E no c

O ilme o
uol me
muelo
le fallaci
piango
cha ffe
marmo
lo nra
or comp

Et breue
no saria a
uo caso ol
anzi te mo
me lmo stra
or che ltemp
lamerre clah
Caprima el
cso no son
Et diol uogli
lecterna per
ne lmal liben
uogg signor
Chel uor canosc
no abbe scusa

* In the printed edition of

The paper on which
of various kinds, and am
study for the group I
Lione Lioni Aretino.

The MS. from which
obtained in Florence, in
drawings from the collec
until he became posses

tempo me uenuto ma co
 meo se sa l'ingressi stanco
 me ne so ben dou
 ch'ueggio e tempo andato
 ne mi ual E g'ho ch'c'm d'or
 o la scorza cangiar emula
 ma in su me ognor far proua
 seconda de l'me stato
 o errato
 E si
 in me
 o inteso o prato uero
 ne so quel ch'io mi spero
 se ch'io da qual parte
 appresso a d'io ne parte.

Michel Angelo's works these two last lines are omitted.
 In this poem was written was covered with designs and studies
 among them, a sketch of Hercules strangling Antæus, probably a
 he modeled in wax, and afterwards gave to his friend

this fac-simile was made, as well as the letter, page 259, were
 in the revolution of 1798, by Mr. Ottley, with many valuable
 of the Buonarroti family, where they had been preserved
 used of them.

Crescemi ognor più l' ombra, e 'l sol vien manco,
E son presso al cadere infermo, e stanco.

Io vò, misero, ohime, nè sò ben dove,
Aspro temo 'l viaggio, e 'l tempo andato
L' ora m' appressa perchè gli occhi chiuda.
Or che l' età la scorza cangia, e muda,
La morte, e l' alma insieme fan gran prove,
Con dura, e incerta guerra del mio stato
E s' io non son per troppa tema errato,
(Voglialo il cielo, e il proprio amor ch' io sia)
L' eterna pena mia
Nel mal inteso, e mal usato vero
Veggio Signor, ne sò quel ch' io mi spero.¹

▪ Besides the two additional verses which commence the fourth stanza, the most important variation, in this printed copy, from the MS. consists in the introduction of the fourth line in the first stanza, and the ninth and tenth lines in the second.

“ Alas! he whose desires are founded in folly is the author of his own sorrow.”

“ I go, by little and little,

“ Each day lengthening the shadow, as the sun declines.”

A TRANSLATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

ALAS ! Alas ! the mirror which tells truth to all,
Tells me that I am old,
And warns me of my fleeting days :
Thus it comes to him, who loves delay,
As now 'tis come to me, whose time is fled,
And like me, finds himself in years.
Altho' Death treads upon my steps,
I neither can prepare, repent, nor counsel take.
Enemy to myself,
Nor is there solace to be found in sighs or lamentation :
He who loses time can know no greater loss.

In retrospect, alas ! alas !
I do not find in all the time that's past,
A single day that I could call mine own.
Fallacious hopes and vain desires,
With every varying passion,
Made me sensible to every change,
And taught me how to know the human heart :
Come now what may, 'twill be no longer new.
Far from the truth I've been,
And what of life remains is now o'ercast
With ills, that wait on life's decline.

Tired I go, alas ! but know not where.
Fear appals me, for my sand is run,

And winter's frost I feel through all my limbs :
Daily I see my frame decay,
Nor would it aught avail to see it not.
On my hereafter, Death and the Soul hourly dispute ;
And if I'm not deceived,
One wills that I should go, One that I should stay.
Eternal punishment is mine
If aught I have perverted, or misused the truth ;
But, in thee, O Lord, I feel my hope is sure.

The following pastoral stanzas are interesting from Michael Angelo's pen. Although they contain but little novelty of thought, yet they are true to nature, and give a just representation of the effects which characterize the different conditions of human life.

A FRAGMENT.

* * * * *

And sweet it is to see in summer time

The daring goats upon a rocky hill

Climb here and there, still browsing as they climb,

While, far below, on rugged pipe and shrill

The master vents his pain; or homely rhyme

He chaunts; now changing place, now standing still;

*Alcune Stanze ritrovate tra altre composizioni di
Michelagnolo così senza cominciamento.*

Nuovo piacere, e di maggiore stima

Veder l' ardite capre sopra un sasso

Montar pascendo or questa or quella cima,

E 'l mastro lor con aspre note al basso

Sfogare il cuor con la sua rozza rima

Sonando, or fermo, et or movendo il passo,

While his beloved, cold of heart and stern !
Looks from the shade in sober unconcern.

Nor less another sight do I admire,
The rural family round their hut of clay ;
Some spread the table, and some light the fire
Beneath the household Rock,² in open day ;
The ass's colt with panniers some attire ;
Some tend the bristly hogs with fondling play ;
This with delighted heart the Old Man sees,
Sits out of doors, and suns himself at ease.

E la sua vaga che ha 'l cuor di ferro
Star co i porci in contegno sotto un cerro.

Qual' è veder sopra eminente loco
Di paglia, e terra un pastorale ospizio ?
Chi ingombra il desco, chi fa fuori il fuoco
Sotto a un masso,² e chi grato, e propizio
Gratta il porco, e l' ingrassa, e prende gioco,
Chi doma, e imbasta l' asinel novizio :
E 'l vecchio gode dell' industrie proie,
E siede fuor dell' uscio, e stassi al Sole.

² "Masso," in the Italian, is a large stone, set up on the outside of a cottage door for the purpose of making a fire against it; which is a common practice in Italy.

The outward image speaks the inner mind,
 Peace without hatred, which no care can fret;
 Entire contentment in their plough they find,
 Nor home return until the sun be set:
 No bolts they have, their houses are resign'd
 To Fortune—let her take what she can get:
 A hearty meal then crowns the happy day,
 And sound sleep follows on a bed of hay.

In that condition Envy is unknown,
 And Haughtiness was never there a guest:
 They only crave some meadow overgrown
 With herbage that is greener than the rest;
 The plough's a sovereign treasure of their own;
 The glittering share, the gem they deem the best;

Di fuor si vede ben quel che dentr' hanno,
 Pace senz' odio, e senza noia alcuna.
 E contenti a solcare i colli vanno,
 Nè fan ritorno fin che 'l ciel s' imbruna,
 Non han serrami, e non temon di danno,
 Lascian la casa aperta alla fortuna:
 Poi dopo l' opra lieti il sonno tentano,
 Sazi di ghiande, e 'n sul fien s' addormentano.

L' Invidia non ha loco in questo stato,
 E la Superbia ognor ne riman fuora,
 Avidi son di qualche verde prato,
 La dove l' erba più lieta s' infiora,
 Il lor sommo tesoro è un arato,
 E 'l vomero è la gemma che l' onora,

A pair of panniers serves them for buffette;
Trenchers and porringers, for golden plate.

Wordsworth.

O Avarice blind, O mean and base desires
Of those who pass the gifts of Nature by!
For gold alone your wretched pride aspires,
Restless for gold from land to land ye fly;
And what shall quench your never-sated fires,
Ye slaves of Envy, Sloth, and Luxury,
Who think not, while ye plot another's wrong,
"Man wants but little, nor that little long?"

They in old time who drank the streamlet clear,
And fed upon the fruits which Nature sent,

Un paio di ceste è la credenza loro,
La ciotola, e 'l barlotto i vasi doro.

O Avarizia cieca, o bassi ingegni,
Che disusate il ben della natura,
E per oro acquistar provincie, e regni
Vostre imprese Superbia sol misura.
L' Accidia la Lussuria par u' insegni,
L' Invidia il mal d' altrui provvede, e cura.
Nè v' accorgete in insaziabil foco,
Che 'l tempo è breve, e 'l necessario è poco.

Color ch' anticamente al secol vecchio
Si trasser fame, e sete d' acqua, e ghiande,

They should be your example, should appear
 Beacons on which your eyes should still be bent :
 O listen to my voice with willing ear !

The peasant with his herds enjoys content,
 While he who rules the world, himself unblest,
 Still wants, and wishes, and is not at rest.

Wealth, sad at heart the while, and full of dread,
 Goes all adorn'd with gems and gay with gold ;
 And every cloud which passes overhead
 As ominous of change doth she behold ;
 But Poverty her happy days hath led,
 Vex'd with no hope to have, nor fear to hold ;
 Amid the woods in homely weeds bedight
 She knows no cares, no quarrels, no affright.

Vi siano esempio, e scorta, e lume, e specchio,
 E freno alle delizie, alle vivande,
 Porgete al mio parlar grato l' orecchio :
 Colui che 'l mondo impera, ch' è sì grande,
 Ancor desira, e non ha pace poi,
 E 'l villanel la gode co' suo' buoi.

D' ore e di gemme, e spaventata in vista
 Adorna la Ricchezza va pensando.
 Ogni vento, ogni pioggia la contrista,
 E gli auguri, e i prodigi sta notando.
 La lieta Povertà fuggendo acquista
 Ogni tesor, ne pensa come, o quando,
 Scevra ne i boschi in panni rozzi, e bigi,
 Fuor d' obblighi, di cure, e di litigi.

Milk, herbs, and water, alway at command,
 The peasant recks not of superfluous stores ;
 He counts his gains upon his callous hand,
 No other book is needed for his scores :
 Troubled with no accounts of ships or land,
 No Usurer's guiles he suffers and deplores ;
 He knows not in the world that such things be,
 Nor vainly strives with fortune, no, not he !

If the cow calved, and if the yearling grew,
 Enough for all his wishes Fortune yields :
 He honours God, and fears and loves him too ;
 His prayers are for his flocks and herds and fields ;
 The Doubt, the How, the Why, that fearful crew,—
 Disturb not him, whom his low station shields,

L' have, e 'l dar, l' usanze, estreme, e, strane,
 E 'l meglio, e 'l peggio, e le cime dell' arte
 Al villanel son tutte cose piane,
 E l' erba, e l' acqua, e 'l latte è la sua parte.
 Fa i conti suoi su le callose mane,
 E quelle sono a lui calamo, e carte.
 Che sia nel mondo usura non s' avvede,
 E senza affanno alla fortuna cede.

D' altro non ha maggior cura, o desio
 Che figli la sua vacca, e cresca il toro.
 Onora, e teme, e ama, e prega Iddio
 Pel gregge, per l' armento, e pel lavoro.
 E 'l Dubbio, e 'l Forse, e 'l Come, e 'l Perché rio
 Nol posson far, che non istan fra loro.

And favour'd for his simple truth by Heaven,
The little that he humbly asks, is given.

Southey.

E col Vero, e col Semplice Iddio lega,
E 'l ciel propizio alle sue voglie piega.

To my friends Southey and Wordsworth I am indebted for the poetical translations which enrich my work, and they have performed their part with a facility that does honour to their poetical powers; for this favour I am the more indebted, as the task of translation is the most unthankful of all literary labour, and in poetry most difficult to accomplish with success, since, what is bad can never be made good, and that which is good, can seldom be improved.

From the facts and opinions which I have stated in this work, and which I believe to be true, it would be useless to mul-

tiply words in summing up the character of Michael Angelo. All short modes of defining complicated powers are fallacious. His genius was vast and wild, and by turns extravagant and capricious; yet whatever may be his defects, the arts, in no country, will ever arrive at any very elevated distinction where his genius is not held in veneration.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX,
CONSISTING OF AN ENUMERATION OF THE
PRINCIPAL WORKS OF MICHAEL ANGELO,
IN
SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

SCULPTURE.

I.

BACCHUS,

In the Florence Gallery.

Page 30.

THERE is a cast of this statue in the house of the Duke of Richmond, in Privy Gardens, brought into this country by that nobleman when he established his academy in London, in the year 1758. Mr. Wilton made a copy of it in marble for the Duke of Northumberland, which is now at Sion House. It is larger than nature, and in the expression is intended to convey the character of drunkenness.

II

LA PIETÀ,

In St. Peter's, in Rome.

Page 30.

III.

DAVID,

In the Piazza del Grand Duca, in Florence.

Page 35.

The sum Michael Angelo received for this piece of sculpture was four hundred ducats. The block of marble was nine braccia long (16 feet, 6 inches:) and the statue is of the same height: on the top and at the base, the rude surface of the marble still remains.

IV.

CHRIST,

In the Church of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, in Rome.

Page 114.

From the devotion paid to this statue, as representing our Saviour, the marble of the feet was so worn that the feet are now protected by brass sandals.

Barry observes upon this statue, that "the attitude is so adjusted, that the central line from the clavicles, through the navel and pubis is a spiral; and that the

beauty of the body is wonderful." *Barry's Works*, 4to.
vol. ii. p. 13.

V.

THE MONUMENT OF DUKE GIULIANO
DE' MEDICI,

*In the New Sacristy of the Church of S. Lorenzo, in
Florence.*

Page 143.

VI.

THE MONUMENT OF DUKE LORENZO
DE' MEDICI,

*In the New Sacristy of the Church of S. Lorenzo, in
Florence.*

Page 143.

When these Monuments were first exposed to public view, they were universally admired; and the Epigram of Giovanni Strozzi on the figure of Night, in that of the Duke Giuliano de' Medici, is preserved among Michael Angelo's poems.

La notte che tu vedi in sì dolci atti
Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita.
In questo sasso, e perchè dorme, ha vita:
Destala se nol credi, e parleratti.

To this, Michael Angelo wrote the following reply

Grato m' è 'l sonno, e più l' esser di sasso,
Mentre che 'l danno, e la vergogna dura
Non veder, non sentir m' è gran ventura,
Però non mi destar, deh parla basso.

Z

VII.

LA MADONNA,

In the New Sacristy of the Church of S. Lorenzo, in Florence.

Page 143.

This piece of sculpture is placed between two statues of St. Cosimo and Damiano, by Angelo Montorsoli and Raffaello di Montelupo, in the same sacristy, occupying one side of the room. Of this piece of Sculpture, Condivi in praise of it, says, it is better to be silent than to say little: "*della quale giudico esser meglio tacere, che dirne poco.*" § XLV.

VIII. IX. X.

RELIGION. MOSES. VIRTUE.

Page 156.

These three statues make a part of the Monument of Julius II. in the church of St. Pietro in Vincola. The emblematical figure of Religion, in the act of adoration, Vasari calls Rachel; and the other with a Mirror, emblematical of Virtue and Prudence, he calls, by the name of her sister, Leah.

XI.

THE MONUMENT OF JULIUS II.

In the Church of S. Pietro in Vincola, in Rome.

Page 156.

XII. XIII.

SLAVES.

Page 156.

These six figures, representing slaves, were intended to surround the base of the Mausoleum of Julius II. as Caryatides, agreeably to the original design.

The two, No. XII. now in France, were given by Michael Angelo to Robert Strozzi, and by him, to Francis I. who gave them to the Constable Montmorency. In the reign of Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu became possessed of them, and placed them in his château; afterwards they descended to the Marshal Richelieu, who removed them to Paris, and put them in his garden. Upon his death the widow took them to a house she inhabited in the Fauxbourg de Roule; when she left that residence they were neglected, and put into the stables with other pieces of sculpture, and in the year 1793, on being offered to sale by brokers, M. Lenoir, the founder of the Musée des Monumens Français, interfered in behalf of the nation, and through his means they are now in that Museum.

The four figures, No. XIII. support the roof of a Grotto in the Boboli Gardens in Florence. They are all in a very rude and imperfect state.

The figure of the Prophet Jeremiah, in the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, is supposed to have been originally designed for this monument; and I have seen a model of it in *terra-cotta*, said to be by Michael Angelo.

XIV.

CHRIST TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS,

In the Cathedral in Florence.

Page 194.

This group was the last work of Michael Angelo, and left unfinished at his death. It was afterwards brought from Rome, and in the year 1723, placed where it now is, at the back of the High Altar, in the Cathedral, by Cosmo III. Grand Duke of Tuscany; and with his permission, the following inscription was placed under it, by the senator Buonarroti.

“ The last work of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, although by the artist neglected in consequence of the imperfection of the marble, yet from its excellence as a work of art, in its present state, Cosmo III. Grand Duke of Tuscany removed it from Rome and placed it here, 1722.”¹

Previously to the commencement of this group Michael Angelo had employed much time on another upon a larger scale, which he spoiled and laid aside; for this, he was afterwards offered 200 golden crowns (100*l.* sterling) in its mutilated and imperfect state, by Francesco Bandini, who was desirous to have it finished by a sculptor of

¹ POSTREMUM MICHAELIS ANGELI BONAROTAE OPUS
QUAMVIS AD ARTIFICE OB VITIUM MARMORIS NEGLECTUM,

EXIMIUM TAMEN ARTIS CANONA

COSMUS III. MAG. DUX ETRURIAE

ROMA JAM ABVECTUM EIC P. I. ANNO

CIO, MDCC, XXII.

the name of Tiberio Calcagni: this offer Michael Angelo generously refused, and made him a present of it, with the model, that it might be finished agreeably to the original design, but the death of Bandini prevented the completion of the work. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 283.

Padre Ottenello and Pietro da Cortona, the authors of the “*Trattato della Pittura, &c.*” p. 210, mention two groups of this subject: one of them, buried in an apartment under ground, was discovered about the year 1650, and publicly seen in a shop in Rome; the other stood in Cardinal Bandini's garden on Monte Cavallo. This latter was probably the same that I have just mentioned. From these two unfinished works Tadeo Zuccherò made drawings, and introduced them into two pictures which he painted in Rome, for the church of the *Madonna de' Monte* and the *Pietà del Consolato de' Fiorentini*.

XV.

LA VITTORIA,

In the Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, in Florence.

This group is unfinished, and for what purpose it was originally intended, is not known. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 311.

XVI.

SAMSON DESTROYING THE PHILISTINES.

A small Bronze.

This bronze was in the possession of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is supposed to be the same group mentioned by Vasari in his life of Baccio Bandinelli, originally intended by Michael Angelo to have been executed in marble for the government of Florence. *Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 589.

XVII.

HERCULES STRANGLING ANTÆUS.

A small Bronze.

This group is supposed to be cast from the model which Michael Angelo gave to his friend and sculptor Lione Lioni Aretino. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 294.

XVIII.

LA PIETÀ,

A small Bass-relief in Bronze.

This is attributed to Michael Angelo, but on very doubtful authority.

In the Florence Gallery there is a rude block of marble by Michael Angelo, intended to be a Bust of

Brutus, which is more remarkable for this distich by Cardinal Bembo, than for any merit of its own.

DUM BRUTI EFFIGIEM DUCIT DE MARMORE SCULPTOR,
IN MENTEM SCELEBIS VENIT, ET ABSTINUIT.

Michael Angelo attempted to restore the arm of the Laocoön; but not feeling himself competent to the undertaking, he left it unfinished. This fragment is also in the Florence gallery.

Of this celebrated group, Baccio Bandinelli made a copy in marble of the same size, and flattered himself, that he surpassed the original; but he was alone in that opinion. Michael Angelo, when he was asked, what he thought of Bandinelli's copy, he replied, "He who follows must be behind; and he, who of himself does not know how to do well, cannot avail himself well of the abilities of others." *Chi va dietro a altri mai non gli passa inanzi, e chi non sa far bene da sè, non può servirsi bene, delle cose d'altri.* Vasari, vol. ii. p. 318. This observation only applies to his talents as a sculptor: for his best designs rank him, for composition, with the first artists Italy has produced: yet as a man he was so generally disliked, that when he heard himself ill spoken of, he used to reply, "It is no matter, we are only quit, for I never speak well of any one."

During the time Michael Angelo was employed by Leo X. to procure marble in the quarries of Carrara for the façade of S. Lorenzo, he raised a large block to make a group of Hercules destroying Cacus, intending to place it in the Piazza with his statue of David, and at his leisure, during this pontificate, he made many designs

and different models of that subject: but on the death of Leo, Clement VII. employed him about works of Sculpture and Architecture, to honour the Medici family, and Baccio Bandinelli obtained the marble to execute a similar composition. After he had begun to work upon it, the revolution of 1527 obliged him to leave Florence, and the Government commissioned Michael Angelo to finish it: upon which, he made a new design of Sampson destroying two Philistines, adapted to the then state of the marble.² The siege of Florence, however, prevented his proceeding further than the model. Of this subject there is a small group of three figures, which I have already noticed, probably from the original model, as there is an old print of the same group subscribed with Michael Angelo's name.

² "Michelagnolo considerato il sasso, pensò un' altra invenzione diversa, e lasciato Ercole, e Cacco, prese Sansone che tenesse sotto due Filistei abbattuti da lui, morto l' uno del tutto, e l' altro vivo ancora, al quale menando un man rovescio con una maxcella d' asino, cercasse di farlo morire." *Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 589.

PAINTING.

I.

HOLY FAMILY.

Page 37.

This picture is preserved in the Florence Gallery, and is the only easel-picture remaining by Michael Angelo that can be authenticated. It has never been engraved, and for the outline of the composition I am indebted to William Ottley, Esq. who made the sketch in Florence, 1798.

II.

JUPITER AND LEDA.

Page 120.

This picture was painted (*a tempera*) about the year 1529, and given to Antonio Mini, who was an assistant to Michael Angelo, with two cases of models, and many very valuable Cartoons and designs, all of which he took into France after the siege of Florence in the year 1530. He sold the picture to Francis I. for three hundred golden crowns, (150*l.* sterling,) *Armenini, lib. iii. p. 216.* It was placed in the Palace of Fontainbleau, but it is now not to be found in France, and is supposed to have been destroyed. In the year 1584, the Cartoon was preserved in the Villa of Bernardo Vecchietti, near Florence. *Il Riposo di Borghini.*

Of this composition I have seen two large *oil pictures*, but the best is that which Sir Joshua Reynolds possessed, and was sold after his death, May 14, 1793, for 77*l.* 10*s.* That picture was originally purchased in France in the year 1746, by the Hon. John Spencer, and came into the possession of Sir Joshua from the collection of the present Earl Spencer. In the Villa Borghese in Rome the same composition is executed in *basso-relievo*.

There are many prints of this design: the best I have seen has the following inscription, but without any date or engraver's name. "*Michael Angelus inventor.*"

"Formosa hæc Læda est: Cignus fit Jupiter: illam
Comprimit: hoc geminum (quis credat) parturit ovum,
Ex illo gemini Pollux cum Castore fratres
Ex isto erumpens Helene pulcherrima prodit."^s

III.

THE CEILING OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

Page 74.

This ceiling is 171 palms 8 inches long, and 59 palms 5 inches wide, which in English measure is 125 feet 9 inches, by 43 feet 6 inches.

In the year 1798, from an accidental explosion of gunpowder in the castle of St. Angelo, the concussion was so great as to shake down some of the plaster from the ceil-

* This is beautiful Læda: Jupiter becomes a Swan: he embraces her, and, strange to tell, she brought forth this double egg, and produced the twin brothers Castor and Pollux, and the most beautiful Helen breaking the shell.

ing, and a colossal academical figure seated on a pedestal, was destroyed; except the head and feet. Before this great work be further damaged, or ruined by time, I unite with Bottari in his wish that this extraordinary series of pictures might be engraved by the most competent artists. The whole has never yet been engraved; and the outline which is published in this volume, presents, for the first time, the arrangement of all the parts together, in their order and relation to each other.

Whether any fragments of the original cartoons for this stupendous work remain, I have not learnt; but it is probable that some may yet be found in Italy, as they were highly valued, and taken great care of by those who cultivated a taste for the fine arts in the sixteenth century, and we are informed, both by Vasari and Borghini, that the celebrated Bernardo Vecchietti was in possession of some pieces, comprehending Academic figures and Prophets.

The original sum Michael Angelo was to have had for painting the whole chapel was fifteen thousand ducats: for the Ceiling he only received three thousand.

IV.

THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Page 162.

From this picture there are numerous prints; in my own collection I have eleven different Engravings of it, but amongst the most valuable, are, one by Gio. Mantuano on ten plates, and a small print by Martin Rota.

Parts of the picture have been engraved by Domenico Fiorentino, and these prints have more breadth of manner, and are more in the style of the original, than those of any other engraver.

The height of the picture is 74 palms 6 inches, and the width 59 palms 6 inches. In English measure, 54 feet 6 inches, by 43 feet 6 inches, and occupies the whole of the wall at the end of the Chapel over the altar.

Gori says, that the original drawing of the Last Judgment was preserved in a Cabinet in the Gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. *Annotazzioni alla vita di Michel Angelo Buonarroti da Condivi*, p. 116. § LIII.

V.

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

Page 162.

The only print I have seen from this picture, was published by Antonio Salamanca, and from the monogram, appears to have been engraved by Nicolo Beatrici: it has this inscription upon it, MICH. ANG. PINXIT IN VATICANO. EX TYPIS ANT. SALAMANCAE.

VI.

CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER.

Page 162.

The best engraving from this picture is by Giovanni Batista de' Cavaliere. It is rather larger than the print of the Conversion of St. Paul.

Bottari says, there were some studies for this picture by Michael Angelo finished with great care, in the Farnese Palace, but removed from thence to Naples in the year 1759, by order of the King.

These are all the pictures by Michael Angelo recorded by his contemporary Biographers. In the house of his descendents in Florence, there is a Holy Family, which is preserved as an original picture; and in the Florence Gallery there was a small picture of the Fates, said to be by Michael Angelo, but upon no authority worthy of credit.

DESIGNS.

AUTHENTICATED BY VASARI.

Bottari's Edition, 4°. M.DCC.LX.

I.

A GROUP OF FIGURES, FROM THE CARTOON OF THE BATTLE OF PISA.

Page 39.

Three figures of this group were engraved by Marc Antonio, with a landscape back ground, in the year 1510, which date is on the print. In the year 1524, Agostino Veneziano engraved five figures, with this inscription, A. V. MDXXIIII. *Michel Angelus Bonarotus Florentinus inventor*. This print has also a landscape back-ground, but not to correspond with the former, nor to Vasari's description; so that most probably these back-grounds were added by the engravers.

These two prints, and the small chiar'-oscuro picture at Holkham, constitute the whole of what now remains of the celebrated composition of the Battle of Pisa. This group seems to have been the principal part of that Cartoon, but the commencement of the action was represented by the fighting of Cavalry, probably introduced in the distance.—“*Infiniti combattendo a cavallo cominciare la zuffa.*”—*Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 209, and vol. iii. p. 722.

Mr. Fuseli, speaking of the Cartoon, says that from these remains, "Crude, disguised, or feeble as these specimens are, they will prove better guides than the half informed rhapsodies of Vasari, the meagre account of Ascanio Condivi, better than the mere anatomic verdict of Benvenuto Celini, who denies that the powers of Michael Angelo afterwards exerted in the Cappella Sistina, arrived at half its excellence.

"It represents an imaginary moment relative to the war carried on by the Florentines against Pisa: and exhibits a numerous group of warriors, roused from their bathing in the Arno, by the sudden signal of a war-horn, and rushing to arms. This composition may without exaggeration be said to personify with unexampled variety that motion, which Agasias and Theon embodied in single figures: in imagining this transient moment from a state of relaxation to a state of energy, the ideas of motion, to use the bold figure of Dantè, seem to have showered into the artist's mind. From the chief, nearly placed in the centre, who precedes, and whose war-voice accompanies the trumpet, every age of human agility, every attitude, every feature of alarm, haste, hurry, exertion, eagerness, burst into so many rays, like the sparks flying from a red-hot iron. Many have reached, some boldly step, some have leaped on the rocky shore; here two arms emerging from the water grapple with the rock, there two hands cry for help, and their companions bend over or rush on, to assist them; often imitated, but inimitable is the ardent feature of the grim veteran whose every sinew labours to force over the dripping limbs his cloaths, whilst gnashing he pushes the foot through the

rending garment. He is contrasted by the slender elegance of a half averted youth, who sedulously eager buckles the armour to his thigh, and methodizes haste; another swings the high-raised hauberk on his shoulder, whilst one who seems a leader, mindless of dress, ready for combat, and with brandished spear, overturns a third, who crouched to grasp a weapon—one naked himself buckles on the mail of his companion, and he, turned toward the enemy, seems to stamp impatiently the ground.—Experience and rage, old vigour, young velocity, expanded or contracted, vie in exertions of energy. Yet in this scene of tumult one motive animates the whole, eagerness to engage with subordination to command; this preserves the dignity of action, and from a straggling rabble changes the figures to men whose legitimate contest interests our wishes.”

In the year 1584, when Borghini published his work entitled, *IL RIPOSO de' pensieri e delle noje*, a piece of the original Cartoon was preserved in the Villa of Bernardo Vecchietti, near Florence

II.

CHRIST ON THE MOUNT.

This design was given to Cosmo III. Grand Duke of Tuscany, after the death of Michael Angelo, by his great nephew Leonardo Buonarroti.—*Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 311.

There is no print of it, and the outline was made from an original picture by Marcello Venusti.

Sir Joshua Reynolds had in his collection a drawing from this composition, of the figure of Christ praying, which he supposed to be by Michael Angelo, and from it he

borrowed the general action of the hands, for his profile portrait of Dr. Johnson.

III.

ANNUNCIATION.

“ Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.” *St. Luke*, ch. i. ver. 28.

This composition was designed by Michael Angelo for the Cardinal di Cesis, and painted by Marcello Venusti, for his Chapel, called “ *La Cappella di marmo*,” in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, in Rome.—*Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 311.

This picture has been since removed, and where it is at present I have not learnt. In its stead there is one by Carlo Cesi, a scholar of Pietro da Cortona.

Five Compositions made for Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri.

IV.

ANNUNCIATION.

This design was painted by Marcello Venusti, and is now in the Sacristy of the Church of St. Giovanni in Laterano. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 311 and 454. There is a very bad print from this picture, by J. Rossi, published in Rome, 1726.

There is a basso-relievo of this composition in marble, in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, in Rome, but the sculptor is not known.

A a

V.

FALL OF PHAETON.

This design was painted in oil colours by Checchino Salviati, and engraved on crystal by Valerio Vicentino: there are also several prints of this composition; the best I have seen has this inscription, MICH. ANG. FLOB. INV. without any engraver's name. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 309 and vol. iii. p. 401.

VI.

RAPE OF GANYMEDE.

Giulio Clovio copied this composition in miniature for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the picture was preserved in the Pitti Palace, in Florence. In the Palace of his Britannic Majesty, at Kensington, there was formerly a large oil picture of this subject, probably painted by some contemporary artist. There are also many prints of it, but one, executed much better than the rest, has this inscription, GANYMEDES JUVENIS TROJANUS RAPTUS A JOVE.* *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 309, 449.

VII.

TITYUS.

This design has been copied in basso-relievo in the Villa Borghese, in Rome. It was probably intended as

* The youth Ganymede, the son of Tros, snatched away by Jupiter.

a companion to the basso-relievo of Jupiter and Leda already mentioned, but there is no mention in Vasari, Condivi, or any contemporary author, of Michael Angelo ever having executed either of these compositions in marble. M. Spence in his *Polymetis*, seems to have mistaken this for a piece of ancient sculpture, and speaks of it in his survey of antiquity as the only instance he is acquainted with of any of the Giants being represented in the state of punishment, and quotes this passage from Virgil as illustrative of the design.

Nec non et Tityon, terræ omniparentis alumnum,

Cernere erat: per tota novem cui jugera corpus

Porrigitur; rostroque inmanis voltur obunco

Immortale jecur tondens, fœcundaque pœnis

Viscera, rimaturque epulis, habitatque sub alto

Pectore: nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

Virgil Æn. 6.—Spence's Polymetis, p. 278. Pl. XLI.

This design has also been published with a landscape back-ground by Antonio Salamanca, with this inscription, TITYUS GIGAS A VULTURE DIVERSISQUE POENIS LACERATUS.³

To this subject I have given the name of Tityus, from its being repeatedly adopted by Vasari in both editions of his work, although that of Prometheus would seem to be more proper; since no circumstance is introduced to denote the character of a giant; but, on the contrary, the Vulture reduces the figure, even below the common standard of life. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 309.

³ Tityus the Giant torn by a vulture, and inflicted with other punishments.

VIII.

BACCANALIA DI PUTTI.

Of this composition I have two old prints; the best has this inscription, *MICH. ANG. Bonaroti inv. Ant. Lafrerii Formis Romæ, 1553.*

These three last designs are particularized by Vasari in his first edition of 1550, with the highest commendation, "Sonsi veduti di suoi in più tempi, bellessimi disegni, come già a Gherardo Perini amico suo, et al presente a M. Tommaso de' Cavalieri Romano, che ne ha de gli stupendi: fra i quali è un Ratto di Ganymede, un Tizio, et una Baccanalia, che col fiato non si farebbe più d' unione." Part iii. p. 986.

Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri was a particular friend of Michael Angelo, and possessed many of his sketches, studies and drawings, of various kinds. After his death, his family sold the collection for five hundred crowns to the Cardinal Farnese, as would appear from a marginal note in the Giunti edition of Vasari, preserved in the Corsini Library in Rome. The person who wrote the note was a scholar of the Caracci, supposed by Bottari to be Sisto Badalocchi; who, speaking of the FALL OF PHAETON, says, "Questo disegno è in mano del Cardinal Farnese, che ha tutti i disegni di detto messer Tommaso, comperi per prezzo di scudi 500. e l' ho visto insieme col Sig. Lodovico Cigoli⁶ e col Signor Pietro Abati, e stupivamo a vedere la diligenza usata da Michelangiolo nel

⁶ Lodovico Cigoli was a painter and architect of reputation, in his time.

ritratto di detto Messer Tommaso fatto di matita nera, che pare di mano d'un Angiolo, con quei begli occhi, e bocca, e naso, vestito all' antica, e in mano tiene un ritratto, o medaglia, che si sia; sbarbato, e in somma da spaurire ogni gagliardo ingegno. Vedemmo anco altri disegni come sopra." *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 309.

*Three Compositions made for the Marchioness of
Pescara.*

IX.

CHRIST, WITH THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA
AT THE WELL.

"Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life." *St. John*, ch. vi. ver. 13, 14.

There is an old print from this design, with this inscription. *A Lef. Formis. Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 315.

X.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

"And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACHTHANI?" *St. Mark*, ch. xv. ver. 34.

Of this composition there was a small picture in the Cavalieri Palace in Rome, painted by Marcello Venusti. In the year 1806, May 26, a small picture of this design

painted by Marcello Venusti, was sold by auction in London, said to be the same as was painted for the Cavalieri Palace. I have a small print of this design, but without any inscription. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 314.

XI.

CHRIST TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS.

This subject has also been painted by Marcello Venusti: and there are several prints of it. One by Giulio Bonasoni, 1546. Another with a slight variation, dated 1547, with the monogram of Nicolo Beatrici. The peculiar cross in the back-ground, represents one which was carried in Florence, in a religious procession, in the great plague of 1348,⁷ and afterwards deposited in the church of Santa Croce. In the original drawing, upon the shaft of the Cross, was printed, NON VE SI PENSA, QUANTO SANGUE COSTA.⁸

There is another print of this subject, with the date 1579, with this inscription, TORCULAR CALCAVI SOLUS,⁹ from Isaiah, probably chosen by the engraver. It is a very inferior print to either of the others. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 314.

⁷ This dreadful pestilence at first discovered itself in the north of Asia, it spread over Europe, and is computed to have swept away a third of the inhabitants in every country it attacked. Stow, in his Survey of London, says, on this occasion, that 50,000 bodies were buried in one church-yard, bought by Sir Walter Manny for the use of the poor. P. 478.

⁸ It is not to be thought how much blood it cost.

I have trodden the vine-press alone. *Isaiah*, c. lxiii. v. 3.

Designs painted by Sebastiano del Piombo and Jacopo da Puntormo.

XII.

CHRIST SCOURGED.

This composition was made for Sebastiano del Piombo, and painted by him in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, where it still remains in good preservation. *Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 471.

XIII.

DEAD CHRIST.

This design was made by Michael Angelo for Sebastiano del Piombo, who painted it for an Altar in a private chapel in the church of S. Francesco in Viterbo, where the picture now is. *Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 470.

Of this composition there is no print.

XIV.

VENUS AND CUPID.

The Cartoon of this picture was drawn by Michael Angelo in charcoal, and highly finished, for his friend Bartolommeo Bettini, to whom he presented it.—“Donò a Bartolommeo Bettini di carbone finitissimo che è cosa divina.” *Edit.* 1550, p. 986. It was painted in oil colours by Jacopo da Puntormo for the same person.

In Kensington Palace there is a copy or duplicate of this picture. In the year 1734, a similar one was brought

to England, said to be painted by Jacopo da Puntormo, and offered to sale by raffle for five hundred pounds: the discussion respecting its originality and the general interest it excited, occasioned Hogarth, many years afterwards, to point out that in Kensington Palace as a worthless production, to censure the taste and judgment of those who were blindly attached to old pictures. See *Analysis of Beauty*, p. 1.

Michael Angelo made a design for the Marchese del Vasto, of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden, commonly called, *Noli me tangere*,¹ which was also painted by Jacopo da Puntormo; and Michael Angelo, when he saw the picture, said, that nothing could be executed more to his satisfaction. *Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 662.

These are all the historical designs by Michael Angelo, enumerated by Vasari or Condivi.



DESIGNS by Michael Augelo, on the Authority of old Prints or Pictures, engraved or painted by contemporary artists.

I.

HOLY FAMILY.

There are three old prints of this subject, with a slight

¹ Touch me not. *John*, c. xx. v. 17.

variation in each. In the Borghese Palace, in Rome, is a small picture of this composition, painted by Marcello Venusti, and some few years ago there was a large picture of this subject exhibited in Bond Street, by this master, where the sleeping Christ was exquisitely painted.

II.

ST. JEROM.

There is an old print of this subject, which appears, from this inscription, to have been engraved after a picture by Marcello Venusti, M. ANG. IN. MARCEL PIN. *Seb. a Reg. do. incid. ROMÆ M.D. LVII. con privilegio.* It was published by Antonio Lafrerii Sequino, who, with Antonio Salamanca, published the greatest number of the prints engraved after Michael Angelo's works. There is an engraving of this subject, with a landscape background, subscribed *Michael Angelus invin. Æ Roma.* There is also another print, smaller than either of the preceding, in which the back-ground is varied, so that it is most probable, the figure is the only part of the original design.

III.

VIRGIN AND CHILD.

From an Original Picture by Marcello Venusti, formerly in the Collection of Cardinal Albani, now in the Possession of Richard Cosway, Esq.

This small picture is most beautifully painted, and the subordinate parts executed with all the taste and elegance

of the Flemish school. I have great satisfaction in pointing out this example of the abilities of Marcello Venusti; because, unless the best works of a Master be seen, no correct estimation can be formed of his merit, or of the state of the art in his time: and this is the more important, as the number of worthless pictures at all times in circulation, under distinguished names, have a constant tendency to create fallacious opinions.

Vasari has given a short account of this artist, though he was living when he published his work; and as I have had occasion frequently to mention his name, a translation of that account may not be uninteresting.

“ Marcello Venusti was born at Mantua 1515, he was a scholar of Perino del Vaga, and worked with him many years, and acquired a distinguished name. He has since painted the Altar of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, in the church of S. Spirito, with the portrait of the Founder, who also built the walls of the church. The portrait is very like, and the Altar-piece extremely beautiful. From the excellence of this work, a friar of the order “ del Piombo,” commissioned him to paint in fresco, in S. Maria della Pace, over the door leading to the convent, Christ disputing with the Doctors, which is beautifully executed. He has now abandoned large works, being more delighted, as he always has been, to paint portraits and small pictures, of which he has done an infinite number, and among them some portraits of Paul III. exceedingly beautiful, and accurately like. He has also made an infinite number of small pictures from the designs of Michael Angelo; among others, the whole composition of the Last Judgment from the original, in

the Sistine Chapel, which is an extraordinary work, executed with the utmost skill.² For truth of representation, in small pictures, nothing can be desired better than Marcello's works: hence, that most accomplished gentleman, Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri, with whom he was always a favourite, commissioned him to paint the Annunciation of the Virgin, for the church of San. Giovanni in Laterano, from a design by Michael Angelo, of which he has made a fine picture. Leonardo Buonarroti, his nephew, gave the original design to Cosmo Duke of Florence, with some drawings of architecture and fortification, and other precious things. Of Marcello, it is enough to say, that since he has applied himself to small works, he has truly executed them with extreme and incredible patience."³ *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 454.

IV.

JEREMIAH.

This was probably a sketch for the same subject Michael Angelo afterwards painted on the Ceiling of the Sistine chapel. The oldest print of this composition is engraved by Niccolo Beatrici, 1547.

² This small copy was in the collection of the King of Naples, in the Gallery of *Capo da Monti*, in 1798, and at the bottom of the picture Marcello Venusti has introduced Michael Angelo's portrait.

³ This account was published 1568, and Marcello Venusti died 1576. His life has been written by Ridolfi.

V.

CHRIST HEALING THE SICK.

‘ When the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him: and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.”
St Luke, iv. 40.

This is probably one of the compositions intended for the Sistine chapel, if the original plan had been carried into effect, of ornamenting the side walls with pictures by Michael Angelo. There is an old print of this design, engraved by Ferando Berteli, 1566.

VI.

HOLY FAMILY.

Of this design there is a print engraved by Philip Sericcus, and published by Antonio Lafrerii, in Rome, 1565.

VI.

CHRISTVS, SEMEL PRO PECCATIS NOSTRIS, MORTVVS EST.⁴

This composition appears to have been intended for an Altar. The outline was copied from a scarce print published or engraved by Antonio Salamanca (*Ant. Sala. Excudebat*) without a date. Salamanca was a considerable printseller in Italy (1540), and published, as I have before observed, many of the works engraved after Michael Angelo; but it is not certain whether he himself ever engraved.

⁴ Christ once for all died for our sins.

VIII.

SHOOTING AT A TARGET.

Whether this composition was intended merely as a study for the action of shooting with the bow, or an allegorical subject, is not known. There is a print of this subject published by Antonio Lafrerii Sequino, most probably in Michael Angelo's lifetime; but I have been informed by Mr. Cosway, that there is extant an earlier print, engraved in wood, with the head of the Terminus representing Michael Angelo's own portrait: if this be not an addition of the engraver, it would seem to imply an intention in the design to allude to the enemies and calumniators of his fame; and it is well known that the subject of S. Sebastian has been more than once adopted by other painters to gratify a similar feeling. Raffaello painted this composition in his villa.

IX.

AN OLD MAN IN A GO-CART.

Of this subject I have two different prints: one without any year of publication or engraver's name; the other, with the date 1538, engraved or printed by Antonio Salamanca, with this inscription at the bottom of the print, TAMDIU DISCENDUM EST QUAMDIU VIVAS.—BIS PUEBI SENES.

This print has been received as the design of Michael Angelo, but I doubt its authenticity.

X.

LA PIETÀ,

This outline is copied from an old and very bad print, inscribed, MICHAEL ANG. B. *pinxit Romæ*, with the engraver's monogram, and underneath DOLOR MEVS SVPER DOLOREM IN ME COR MEVM MORRENS.⁵ This composition is more stiff and formal in its style of design than the Pietà in St. Peter's, and was probably of an earlier date, and, according to the inscription, might have been originally executed in painting; as it is the only print I have ever seen, where the name of Michael Angelo is put as the painter, except to the compositions in this work, which are enumerated as paintings.

Besides these compositions there is a print, called Michael Angelo's Dream, which is an allegorical subject, shewing the evils of Avarice and Debauchery, as the consequence of inordinate attachment to Wealth, and unlawful Love. Masques are introduced, as emblematical of hypocrisy, to complete the chain of evils; while the principal figure, reposing on a Globe, is visited by an Angel from Heaven, who may be supposed to be warning him to place his confidence and affections on another, and a better world.

The only print I have seen of this subject has this inscription, MICHAEL ANGELUS INVENT. *Gio. Domenico de Rossi alla Pace.*

⁵ My sorrow is above all sorrow and my heart grieves with me.

MICHAEL ANGELO'S RING.

This composition is on an engraved gem, and called Michael Angelo's Ring. The subject, as well as its antiquity, has given rise to much discussion, and the following extract from M. Raspe, may serve to shew the interest antiquaries have taken in the investigation:

“ This beautiful engraving, known by the name of *Michael Angelo's Seal*, has furnished ample matter of discussion and controversy to the antiquaries of France. One might almost form a library of the books and pamphlets which have been published upon the beauty and signification of this celebrated Gem. As Mr. Mariette, in his *Traité sur les Pierres gravées*, and Mr. De Murr, in his *Bibliothèque des beaux Arts*, have given a sufficiently accurate account of them, we shall not enter into any detail, unless to observe that Professor Rossmön of Erlang, and Mr. Thierheim in Saxony, have, not long since, augmented the number of learned commentators on this seal of Michael Angelo. The first of these literati published, in the Literary Intelligencer of the University of Erlang for the year 1749, No. 32, a Memoir to prove, “ that it represents the birth and education of Alexander the Great, allegorised as the birth and education of Bacchus.” Mr. Thierheim, on the contrary, printed a German dissertation on the subject, at Goerliz and Leipzig, in which he pretends to prove, with a great profusion of Wit, Greek, and Latin, that it represents “ the grand Panathænean festivals of Athens, and that the little fisherman in the exergue fishing, is an allusion to the

luxury of the Athenians; who, on account of their enormous expense and consumption of fish, had the nickname of Fish-eaters.

“Most commentators agree, without any proof whatever, that it is the work of Pyrgoteles, a very celebrated engraver in the time of Alexander the Great. Unhappily for them, and for Mr. Thierheim in particular, Mr. De Murr, in his *Bibliothèque des beaux Arts*, has most justly observed, after some Italian Antiquaries, that “the little fisherman in the exergue, is a rebus, or a kind of speaking figure, expressing the name of Pietro Maria di Pescia, contemporary with Michael Angelo, a most celebrated and excellent Italian engraver.

“The great number of figures, and the manner of composition, might always have suggested very rational doubts of its antiquity. But such were the folly and blindness of the antiquaries, that no one hitherto has suspected it, and Mariette, in his *Traité des Pierres gravées*, vol. i. p. 322, though justly considering the little fisherman as a logograph, pretends to find it in the name of Allion, a celebrated engraver in the fairest days of antiquity. It is true that Ἀλιεύς, signifies a fisherman; but with a better knowledge of the Greek language, Mr. Mariette might, and ought to have observed, that there is a great difference between Ἀλιεύς and Ἀλλίων; and a little attention to the manner and composition of the work in question, would certainly have shewn him that it is as far from the style of the ancients, as the age of Pietro Maria di Pescia is from that of Allion.

“I shall not in this place repeat what I have said upon this subject in a literary journal, printed at Berlin, under

the title of *Algemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, in which I gave an account of the Memoir of Mr. Thierheim; and I finish by doing justice to the spirit and delicate touch of Pietro Maria di Pescia, which is truly admirable." *Raspe's Descriptive Catalogue of Tassie's Gems*, p. 274.

With M. Raspe I concur in the opinion, that this gem is the production of a modern artist. Upon what authority it is called Michael Angelo's Ring, I am ignorant: M. Mariette says only, "*Il est plus particulièrement connu sous le nom de Cachet de Michel-Ange, parce qu'on est persuadé qu'il a appartenu à cet homme illustre.*" It is worthy of remark, that the two female figures on the right, are the same, in the general design, as two in the composition of Judith and Holofernes, in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which would seem to shew, that the engraver adopted them from that picture; and this circumstance alone, may have connected it with Michael Angelo's name.

Pliny records a story of the two rival painters, Apelles and Protogenes, who on their absence from home, each left at the house of the other, a specimen of his drawing, instead of his name, to shew who had been there. A similar anecdote is told of Michael Angelo, who is said, one day to have gone to the *Farnesina* to visit Raffaello, and not finding him painting, as he expected, he mounted a ladder, and on the wall at the top of the room drew a colossal head, in charcoal, in a grand style of design, that Raffaello on his return might know who had been there. From respect to the talents of

B b

Michael Angelo, or from some popular feeling founded on tradition, this rude sketch still remains on the wall in that Casino.

An Enumeration of the Portraits of Michael Angelo, either in Painting, Sculpture, or Engraving, executed in his lifetime.

GIULIANO Bugiardini painted his portrait at the request of Ottaviano de' Medici, and Michael Angelo also sat to Jacopo del Conte, but where these pictures are is not known. The former was doubtless a very indifferent performance, for Bugiardini was an artist of little merit, and if the following anecdote be correct, it is probable the likeness was very inaccurate. After Michael Angelo sat two hours, Bugiardini requested him to look at it; upon which he burst into laughter, and asked him, What he could have been thinking of, to place one eye in the temple? But the poor man, after re-examining and comparing his picture with the original, not being able to see the defect, Michael Angelo facetiously told him, "That if his picture was correct, Nature must have made the mistake;" and desired him to proceed.⁶

⁶ "Avendo poi segretamente il detto M. Ottaviano pregato Giuliano, che gli ritraesse Michelagnolo Bonarroti, egli messovi mano, poi ch' ebbe tenuto due ore fermo Michelagnolo, che si pigliava piacere de' ragionamenti di colui, gli disse Giuliano: Michelagnolo, se volete vedervi, state su, che già ho fermo l'aria del viso. Michelagnolo rizzatosi, e vedute il ritratto, diss

In the small copy of the Last Judgment by Marcello Venusti, Michael Angelo's portrait is introduced in the left-hand corner of the picture, which is not painted in the original, in the Sistine chapel.

The best authenticated portrait of Michael Angelo, is a bust in bronze preserved in the Capitol; which, Vasari says, was executed by Daniello da Volterra. It was given to the senate of Rome by the celebrated Borioni, and by Clement XII. placed in the collection of sculpture, where it now is. This is the same bust Bartolozzi copied for the author's work from the Last Judgment (Atlas fol.), but by mistake it is there ascribed to a scholar of Michael Angelo, Bartolommeo Amanati. The marble bust in his monument is by Battista Lorenzi.

Lione Lioni Aretino, a sculptor and particular friend of Michael Angelo, made his portrait on a medallion, in the year 1562, when he was 88 years of age; it was considered a strong likeness, and executed with great spirit. On the reverse of the medal was a blind man led by a

ridendo a Giuliano? Che diavolo avete voi fatto? voi mi avete dipinto con uno degli occhi in una tempia: avvertitevi un poco. Ciò udito, poichè fu alquanto stato sopra di sè Giuliano, ed ebbe molte volte guardato il ritratto, ed il vivo, rispose sul saldo: A me non pare, ma ponetevi a sedere, ed io vedrò un poco meglio dal vivo, s' egli è così. Il Bonarroti, che conosceva, onde veniva il difetto, ed il poco giudizio del Bugiardini, si rimise subito a sedere ghignando. E Giuliano riguardò molte volte, ora Michelagnolo, ed ora il quadro, e poi levato finalmente in piede, disse: A me pare, che la cosa stia siccome io l'ho disegnata, e che il vivo mi mostri così. Questo è dunque, soggiunse il Bonarroti, difetto di Natura: seguitate, e non perdonate al pennello, nè all' arte. E così finito questo quadro." *Vasari vita di Giuliano Bugiardini*, vol. iii. p. 617.

dog, circumscribed with this legend, DOCEBO INIQUOS VIAS TUAS, ET IMPII-AD TE CONVERTENTUR.⁷ The application of this legend is obscure. In the year 1760, Mariette wrote to Bottari to have his opinion upon it, which he was unable to give with any satisfaction to himself; but observes, that it might be a satire pointed at those who had the management of the building of St. Peter's at that time, of whom he had the meanest opinion.⁸ With this Medallion Michael Angelo was highly pleased, and gave Aretino in return, several of his own designs, and a model in wax of Hercules strangling Antæus. *Vasari*, vol. ii. p. 294.

Gori had in his possession a portrait of Michael Angelo in an emerald paste, given to him by Sig. Luigi Syzies, who obtained it in Paris. He has engraved it at the head of the preface of his edition of *Condivi*, but he has not given any data to establish its originality.

The following Portraits were engraved in Michael Angelo's lifetime.

A three quarter face in an ornamental oval, by Giorgio Mantouano, under which are the following lines :

Michael Angelus Bonarota
Tuscorum flos delibatus,

⁷ I will teach the wicked thy ways, and to thee the impious shall be converted.

⁸ Vide *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. iv. p. 364.

Duarum artium pulcherrimarum
 Humanae vitae vicariarum
 Picturae statuariaeque
 Suo penitus sæculo extinctarum
 Alter inventor faciebat.⁹

A three-quarter face, with a fur cap, in an ornamented oval, circumscribed, MICHAEL ANGELVS BONAROTVS PATRICIVS FLORENTINVS AN. AGENS LXXXI. On the ornament of this portrait are engraved the initials J. B.

A profile, in a circle, by Giulio Bonasoni, with this inscription :

MICHAEL . ANGELVS . BONAROTVS . PATRICIVS.
 FLORENTINVS . AN. AGENS . LXXII.
 QVANTVM IN NATURA ARS NATURAQVE POSSIT IN ARTE
 HIC QVI NATVRAE PAR FVIT ARTE DOCET.
 M.D.XLVI.

A profile, in a square, without any engraver's name, with this inscription :

MICHAEL . ANGELVS . BONAROTVS . NOBILIS.
 FLORENTINVS . AN , AET . SVÆ . LXXI.
 QVI . SIM . NOMEN . HABES . SATQ . EST . NAM . CETERA . CUI . NON
 SVNT . NOTA . AVT . MENTEM . NON . HABET . AVT . QCVLOS.
 M.D.XLV.

⁹ Michael Angelo Buonarroti, choice flower of the Tuscans, was the restorer of the two most beautiful arts, the ornaments of human life, Painting and Sculpture; in his age almost extinct.

An outline of this portrait is introduced as a frontispiece to the volume of Illustrations which has been referred to in the course of this work.

A profile in a plain unornamented oval, circumscribed, MICHAEL ANGELUS BONABOTUS PATRICIUS FLORENTINUS SLULPTOR PICTOR ET ARCHITECTUS UNICUS; and under the oval, AN. AGENS LXXI. 1545.

Of these three last prints, the first is much the best; and, although the second has a prior date, it appears to have been engraved from the same original; and the third is a very inferior copy of it.

The portrait facing the title page of this work was engraved by Mr. Bartolozzi, just before he left England to reside in Portugal,¹ from a profile prefixed to Gori's edition of Condivi; the original of which was a drawing in the Buonarroti collection in Florence, supposed to have been made by Giulio Bonasoni, and probably the same from which Bonasoni engraved his print.

¹ Francesco Bartolozzi was born at Florence, Sept. 25, 1728. At eighteen years of age he went to Venice, and by the assistance of one Feretti, who had been his drawing master, he was placed under Wagnor, a celebrated engraver of that time, and remained with him about ten years. He then went to Rome, where he stayed somewhat more than a year, and afterwards returned to Venice. On the 9th of August, 1764, he left Venice and came to England, and resided in this country till he quitted it on the 6th of November, 1802, on which day he sailed from Falmouth to Portugal, and there he died in the month of March, 1815, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

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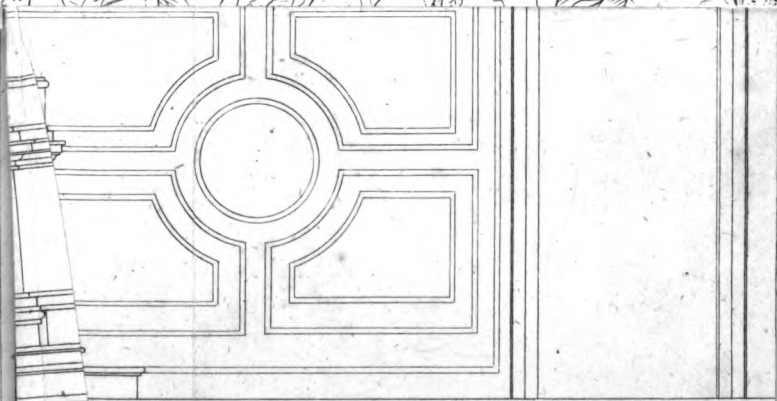
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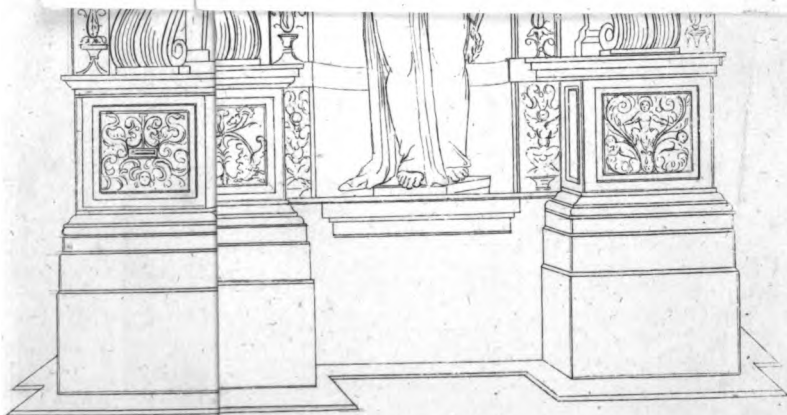
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